PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

A. CRAIG BAIRD

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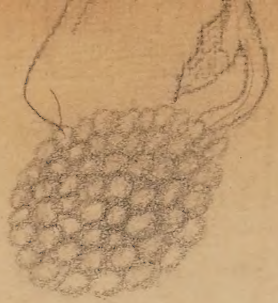

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PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

BY

A. CRAIG BAIRD

PROFESSOR OF SPEECH IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

GINN AND COMPANY

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PREFACE

This book attempts to restate familiar argumentative principles in terms of present-day speech, logic, and psychology.

In recent years the pendulum in student public speaking has swung from interest in formal argument and, perhaps, contest debate to the study and practice of discussion in its broader application, including public discussion, committee conference, persuasive business talk, and open-forum debating. This text opens for the student this wider field of controversy, and reminds him that discussion is more than a narrow technical form to be tested only in exhibitions; that it is an *organon* of many thought-provoking studies and the basis of practically all persuasive speeches and articles. *Public Discussion and Debate*, as the title implies, stresses this broader treatment of argument.

A second aim of the present text is to apply to discussion and debate the elementary principles of logic. That syllogistic reasoning, formal fallacies, and other inherited features of logic have meant little to the undergraduate in debate has been generally agreed. Texts on argumentation, persuasion, discussion, formal or informal debate are called upon not to discard the treatment of the elements of logic, but to make that treatment significant for present-day students. I have tried to illustrate the practical use of these classical formulas in the building and testing of argument.

Again, the criticism applied to the previous books on argumentation — that they have not assimilated the New Logic as represented by Bosanquet, Joseph, Sidgwick, Dewey, and others, with their emphasis upon the unity and the wholeness of the logical system — has been met here in the treatment given to Induction, Analysis, The Brief, and other topics. I have outlined the needs of argument as a whole and have avoided, by an explanation of the *implicative system* or of the *inferential whole*, the

disposition of some predecessors to limit the process to reasoning from *linear inference.*

As I have adapted the principles of the newer logic, so have I emphasized discussion and debate as a problem in psychology. The later psychologists, among them James, Seashore, Titchener, Woodworth, and Allport, with their interpretation of human thinking from the standpoint of social behavior and in terms of the entire personality, have compelled teachers of speech, and, rather tardily, teachers of argument, to revise their description and use of such terms as *belief, conduct, conviction, persuasion, attention, emotion, suggestion, intellect, judgment,* and similar concepts. Without sacrificing the logical basis essential to good argument, I have given prominence to analysis of human motives and to speech in social adaptation, as effective means of influencing human behavior.

Since students learn best by examples close to their thinking and experience, I make no apology for the numerous illustrations drawn from contemporary life, — that of the campus and the present-day world. I have deliberately avoided extended excerpts from classical or older argumentative models, because years of experience as a teacher of debate in colleges have convinced me that students automatically ignore such passages. This text is a reflection of public thought and controversy at the time of writing. I have encouraged the student to grapple with these problems, and so to acquire genuine education.

This book may be used with equal advantage in either formal or informal discussion and "persuasion" classes. Assignments in the chapters on Deduction, Fallacies, and Delivery in Discussion and Debate, for example, may be omitted or postponed. The chapter on The Audience may be assigned early in the course.

My great debt to Professors G. P. Baker, H. B. Huntington, W. T. Foster, J. M. O'Neill, Craven Laycock, and W. C. Shaw is obvious, and is here enthusiastically expressed. The other sources have been acknowledged in the text and bibliographies.

A. CRAIG BAIRD

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PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

CHAPTER I

INFLUENCING BELIEF AND CONDUCT

I. INFLUENCING BELIEF AND CONDUCT THROUGH PERSUASION. II. EXPLANATION OF ARGUMENTATION. III. TYPES OF ARGUMENTATION. IV. RELATIONSHIPS OF ARGUMENTATION. V. EDUCATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF ARGUMENTATION. VI. PRINCIPLES FOR THE MASTERY OF ARGUMENTATION, PUBLIC DISCUSSION, AND DEBATE

I. Influencing Belief and Conduct through Persuasion

A. **Influencing Belief and Conduct as a Factor in Social Adjustment.** One of your chief concerns is to influence men and women to accept your point of view about many things. Because your relation to society is one of continual mutual adjustment, because you cannot easily escape from the world, and because you have numerous desires and needs that must be fulfilled if you are to get on or even to survive, you find yourself continually attempting to impress others with your personality and to reconstruct their motives and, in the end, their conduct. Your school career, for example, is a succession of complex experiences — studying, dancing, idling in your room, arguing with your intimate friends, making the team, cramming for mid-years, or working your way. Through it all you are striving, vigorously or lightly, to have your personality and ideas prevail. Mere self-defense in social living justifies your effort.

B. **Persuasion as an Aid to Practical Success.** Again, after graduation, whether you are to practice law, medicine, teaching, preaching, salesmanship, or to attempt any other work, your

practical problem will be to influence human behavior. Do you expect to take up law? Then your efficiency will be measured not simply by your knowledge of logic or evidence but also by your skill in presenting your case to jury or judge. If you are to preach and to achieve as did Beecher, you must build up a following who both recognize your leadership and yield to your suggestions for the right moral code. Is your career to be business? Then you must apply to a sales situation pleasant address, knowledge of your wares, and, chiefly, ability to shake your customer out of his lethargy or polite assent and so to close the sale.

C. **Persuasion as a Factor in Solving Public Questions and Exercising Good Citizenship.** Aside from your immediate needs you may become ambitious for your family, your community, your country. You find yourself grappling with problems of taxes, treatment of criminals, organization of town or national government, party allegiance, and a hundred other political, social, or moral questions. The eddying world about you is seemingly indifferent or careless concerning hopes or claims so important to you. Either you or society has failed to make the proper adjustment. Since any equilibrium established seems immediately to disappear, these problems persist. The process calls for endless adjustment. First you decide that battleship armaments of the nations must be limited; then airplane carriers; then cruisers; then submarines; then other capital ships; and so on. With your companions in the controversy you sweep society on into what you hope is a better state of affairs. In such a career you have that interest in public affairs, that knowledge of problems, and that desire to mold public opinion which make for good citizenship.

D. **Persuasion as a Means of Deciding Intellectual Problems.** In still other cases your stout intellectual curiosity will lead you to probe into scientific or other mysteries more or less remote from immediate satisfactions. Did Chaucer in writing the Man of Law's tale borrow from John Gower? Is Mars inhabited?

Authorities may differ about these things. Laymen call them academic. Nevertheless you may exhaust an energetic life upon them and in the end suffer martyrdom for your crusade against an obstinate race. Thus to get your fellows in school and in society to attend to you, to believe in you and your message, is the supreme art. It is the art of practical achievement as a minister, salesman, teacher, lawyer, or statesman. It is the fine skill of accumulating prestige, and of intellectual and moral leadership. It is the art of persuasion, the influencing of human conduct.

II. Explanation of Argumentation

When persuasion more directly attempts to control intellectual behavior, we commonly label the process *argument. Argument is the rhetorical process of influencing the belief and conduct of a hearer or reader by supplying him with reasons and motives for action.* Let us analyze briefly this working definition.

***A.* A Rhetorical Art.** Argument, like persuasion, is a rhetorical method. Rhetoric is the art of speaking and writing. Its medium is language. To influence the world rhetorically we speak or write.

***B.* An Audience Situation.** Argument requires an audience. The situation is a social one. Readers or hearers are necessarily involved. You may reason with yourself as did Hamlet, but even he envisaged a great audience applauding or condemning his conclusions. Communication is essential. Psychologically the process is one of providing stimuli and securing response. The speaker or writer provides the stimuli (in this case words, or substitute stimuli for the original sensations); the audience becomes the reactor and furnishes the response.

***C.* The Speaker or Writer of Argument.** On one side is the audience. Either it is totally oblivious of your cause; or it is indifferent, having once reflected on the problem and dismissed it for one reason or another; or it is openly hostile. On the other side are you, conscious of the maladjustment, determined to

effect some understanding, reconciliation, or compromise, maybe; because you know that unless you do restore the harmony, you will, like O'Neill's Hairy Ape, succumb. The moment you speak, the lines are drawn and the conflict proceeds.

***D.* The Rhetorical Aim of Changing Belief and Conduct.** The goal is conversion or complete response. The reactor-audience faces a day of judgment. If you succeed, a new man emerges. Belief and conduct change.

Contrast this rhetorical motive with that of the expositor or narrator. If you explain the importance of dust, characterize a college man, state a problem of physics, or review the week's happenings in Europe, your mood is that of an instructor. Your real undertaking, whatever your selection of material, is largely to make clear an idea or related group of ideas.

Again, when you set out to picture the campus on a warm autumn day or the stadium just before a touchdown, or when you recount a lively anecdote, another mood controls you and another purpose governs your selection of material. Your mood in the latter cases is more imaginative and emotional than when you are expounding.

In contrast to these well-defined purposes is the aim of affecting belief or conduct. You are still eager to make clear and to entertain, but in the main you have a determination to move your audience. The classification of students is merely preliminary to the criticism of their low scholarship and to a proposal for correcting this situation by the introduction of higher standards of scholastic attainment. Your warm picture of the football contest is to pave the way for a definite appeal to your hearers for support of the team. Your review of events in Europe is to persuade your group of America's duty to abandon a policy of nonparticipation.

1. *Explanation of Belief.* If the end sought is belief and conduct, we should be sure of the meaning of these terms. In the popular sense belief means approval, usually visible approval, of an argument. Since, however, a man convinced against his will

may continue to believe things which officially he has repudiated, we must attach to belief the suggestion of a genuine mental assent to a proposition. Belief is "certainty or assurance with respect to the alleged truth of an idea." It is contrasted with *uncertainty* or with *unbelief*. For example, thousands of thinkers believe that man descended from a lower order of life. Others profess uncertainty or agnosticism about this matter. They prefer the even way of neutrality. Millions of others are certain that no evidence bridging the gap between man and beast has been unearthed. These are the unbelievers. We who have faith concerning any matter have as our object the removal of that apathy or skepticism and the substitution of a mind that "recognizes the truth of what we had not before accepted."

2. *Relation of Belief to Conduct.* Belief, however, is (according to modern psychology) a form of behavior. "Belief is a form of behavior in which tendencies to respond in any given way are touched off by a combination of words called a proposition." [1] Even if your proposition is, RESOLVED, *That Lord Chatham was the first English orator of his generation*, you will influence behavior as well as what we call mental approval or belief. Behavior may be merely verbal response, an emotional expression, or an overt act. "The proposition, 'Toadstools are poisonous,' is believed when we refuse to eat them, when grave apprehension follows our having eaten them by mistake, when we try to prevent our friends from eating them, and when, in response to questioning, we declare that to eat toadstools will result in illness. . . . The moral conviction that it is wrong to play tennis on Sunday consists first of all in saying so when tennis is suggested. Further than this, our belief consists in a tendency not to play, and in displaying resentment toward those who do such a thing. The belief that debts should be paid involves advocating this statement, having a consequent tendency to pay debts and a show of remorse when this tendency is prevented. When a hypocrite

[1] J. M. O'Neill and A. T. Weaver, *The Elements of Speech*, p. 317. Longmans, Green & Co., 1926.

merely advocates this form of dishonesty and does not pay his debts and does not regret his failure to do so, we may recognize the incompleteness of his belief." [1] Thus psychologically belief becomes conduct or behavior, and the distinction between the terms becomes inconsequential.

***E.* Argument and Reason.** Argument secures its end by addressing both the reason and the emotions. Man has been described tritely as a reasoning animal. The process of reasoning, we are told, is one of "mental exploration." [2] You may follow a trial-and-error method of solving your difficulties. If you are about to leave the house and find your hat missing, you may go roaming about in every nook and corner searching until you come upon it. Such is purely "motor exploration." On the other hand you pause for a moment and reflect, "Where did I leave that hat?" You will in your mind's eye rove through the house, review past associations with the lost article, and so, logically, recall that you hung it up in the basement when you were stoking the furnace. Mental exploration is substituted for physical exploration. As Woodworth says: "You recall this fact and that, you turn this way and that, mentally, till some fact is recalled that serves your need. No more in reasoning than in motor exploration can you hope to go straight to the desired goal." [3] Like the mouse attempting to escape from the cage, you try again; but your trial-and-error performance is mental. Exploration ends in some sort of conclusion, a picture (or "perception") of what should be done. These perceptions that grow out of delayed reactions following the stimulus or impulse to explore we call *judgments* or *inferences*. The reasoning process, then, is made up of a series of inferences.[4] Your method in arguing is first of all to provide a series of judgments or inferences or reasons that

[1] S. Smith and E. R. Guthrie, *General Psychology, in Terms of Behavior*, pp. 195–196. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1921.

[2] R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, p. 463. By permission of Henry Holt and Company, publishers, 1921.

[3] R. S. Woodworth, op. cit. p. 463.

[4] For a full discussion of inference see Chapter IX.

the audience may follow. This process is what traditional texts on debating call *conviction.*

***F.* Argument and Motives for Action.** Argument, in addition to satisfying the understanding as to the truth of a proposition, must also reckon with human prejudices, impulses, motives, and emotions. It is agreed that if you are to secure action or a complete response, you must have an emotional reënforcement of belief. If, for example, you should try to establish the proposition that the United States ought to unite more closely with Europe in some association to promote the common interests, your logic would include a chain of reasoning proving that wars are threatening along various frontiers; that the basis for other conflicts is being securely laid in alliances and new balances of power; that economic and social realignments threaten the peace; that the machinery of coöperation can be worked out; and that the proposal is more than a dreamer's dream. Authorities and other types of concrete evidence would supplement the series of deductions.

Your argument, however, to be effective should become a series of emotional concepts — emotion of national pride, love of country, self-interest, racial antagonism, national duty to inferior peoples, fear of war, pity for the less fortunate, and so on. Woodrow Wilson once said: "Life is essentially illogical. The world is governed now by a tumultuous sea of commonalities made up of passions, and we should pray God that the good passions should outvote the bad passions." [1] We must consider what manner of men we are addressing, what feelings move them, how opposition is crushed, and how a mood favorable to our cause is created. With the right motives suggested, argument will thus carry the day. Argument, then, influences through both reason and emotion. The aim is unitary, to influence both emotional and intellectual behavior. Together with contemporary psychology we recognize the unity of personality (or mentality),

[1] Woodrow Wilson, "The Training of the Intellect," quoted from *Modern Short Speeches* (J. M. O'Neill, editor), p. 261. The Century Co., 1923.

but in argumentation we do find practical convenience in dwelling now upon that approach which deals mainly with judgments, reasons, and inferences, and now upon that which concerns itself with motives for approval and action.

III. Types of Argumentation

A. **Persuasion.** Persuasion, the general attempt to influence human behavior, may accomplish the result by touching off tendencies to immediate response without the delays of reflective thinking. When you persuade, your suggestions may be direct appeals that are uncritically accepted. As you hurry across the street you are interrupted with "Buy a badge." You may automatically respond. That incident furnishes an example of abbreviated persuasion. Argument, by contrast, stresses proposition and inference. Persuasion, when it also obviously proceeds from proposition to conclusion, becomes of course argumentation. This book is mainly concerned with the method of influencing behavior which emphasizes explicit methods of reasoning.

B. **Debating.** Debating and argument are often used interchangeably. Argument is the broader term, applying to all methods, either oral or written, of influencing conduct and belief by rational and emotional means. Debate is characteristically oral controversy under definite rules, such as the time limits, the use of opposing speakers, the duty of judges, the use of main speeches and rebuttal, and the methods of voting. The writer of a first-rate forensic, or complete argument, may be a third-rate debater because of lack of ability to think quickly on his feet, or to talk readily on the platform, or to use the hundred and one other arts of the schooled debater. Whereas argument was perfected and applied in early Greece, debate, as we practice it today in the American colleges, is a comparatively modern invention. In this book these terms will occasionally be used as synonyms.

C. **Discussion.** Discussion (Latin *dis*, "apart," and *quatio*, "shake") is literally to shake apart for examination or analysis.

It is a more informal method of analyzing a controversial subject and following out various tentative arguments.

1. *Public Discussion.* Discussion is commonly applied to that type of public speaking in which one speaker presents a point of view and afterwards the audience has opportunity in an open forum to ask questions and make short speeches. Sometimes two speakers lead, taking opposite sides as in a debate. The program, however, is less rigid than that of a debate, and the speeches are presumably more discursive and less dogmatic. The distinction between public debate, like the Butler-Borah meeting on prohibition, and public discussion, like the open-forum programs often carried out at Ford Hall, Boston, or Cooper Union, New York, is not a sharp one. If the rules for conducting the meeting become tightly drawn and the contest element looms large, then discussion merges with debate.

2. *Committee or Group Discussion.* The term *discussion* applies also to a more private, or semiprivate, procedure known as *committee* or *group* discussion. Clubs, school and college groups, corporation boards, juries, the Assembly of the League of Nations, and various other organizations and committee gatherings use this method. All present participate as a committee on the whole. Each contributes his individual point of view about what the problem means and how it should be solved. Open-mindedness, presumably, prevails throughout. Personal attitudes yield as the discussion develops until finally a vote, which is in theory unanimous, may register the consolidated opinion. Thinking is coöperative rather than competitive. The procedure is really not argument but analysis. It represents a stage immediately preceding argument proper. The committee-room report becomes the basis for the heated bilateral debate in the open assembly.[1]

***D.* The Sales Talk.** The sales talk is a speech that aims to sell some service or product. It is usually a private interview, a confidential though extended conversation between salesman and prospect, as when a book agent, an automobile salesman, or an

[1] See Chapter II for further treatment of discussion.

insurance agent plies his trade. Occasionally, however, the sales talk is a more formal affair, delivered to a group; for example, when some service is presented to a city council, to a public-service committee, or to a corporation board. Salesmanship aims at action. It uses all the devices of persuasion, usually with a generous portion of carefully disguised argument and evidence. Essentially, this type of speech is an argument applied to a technical business situation.

E. **Emphasis upon Public Discussion and Debate.** This text will discuss the general principles of argumentation with the belief that those principles may be applied effectively whether the student later chooses to use them in the general field of argument, oral or written, as when he writes editorials or controversial articles, or delivers sermons, dinner speeches, lectures, inspirational addresses, or various other types of formal or informal speeches that may aim to impress and actuate; whether he later becomes a debater in the legislative halls; whether he attempts to mold opinion through public or committee-room discussion; or whether he elects the field of business and sells service or commodities. Special attention will be given to public discussion and debate, forms of argument which students in schools and colleges today find especially useful in working out their immediate problems and in training for citizenship.

IV. Relationships of Argumentation

A. **Argumentation and Logic.** Argument owes much to logic, the study of mental processes. Logic deals with propositions, terms, presumptions, inferences, issues; it classifies arguments, explains syllogistic reasoning, refutation, and fallacies. If you attempt to master fully the technique of discussion, you will find yourself delving into this science of logic and applying it in practical argument.

B. **Argumentation and Law.** From law is derived the emphasis upon the selection of main and subordinate issues, the burden of

proof and presumption, the rules for evidence and the classification of evidence, procedure in refutation, and the development and use of a legal brief. In general, law accounts for the legislative and judicial style of present-day American debate.

***C.* Argumentation and Psychology.** Still another science which more recently has influenced and explained the argumentative process is psychology, the science of mental life, or consciousness, or behavior. Psychology clarifies the laws of human action. It helps the speaker to analyze his own emotional and intellectual behavior, and so to organize the most effective argument. Psychology explains the character of the group and teaches the laws of adaptation. By its aid we can much more effectively influence audiences.

***D.* Argumentation and Composition.** Again, argument is composition. Like exposition, description, and narration, it is a form of literary art. It combines the elements of thought, imagination, emotion, and form, or structure. The argumentative composition has organic structure : unity, coherence, proportion, and emphasis. Argumentative discourse embodies the qualities of clearness, force, concreteness, compression, and beauty. Effective argument means effective English. The study and mastery of effective sentence structure and proper syntax become a part of the course in argument. The arguer, like the essayist, or even the poet, may be a creative artist of high order. Thus Hamilton, Webster, Phillips, Lincoln, and Wilson have been artists in the field of argument.

***E.* Argumentation and Ancient Rhetoric.** In describing these relationships we should not ignore the influence of still another important source, that of ancient rhetoric. Gorgias, Hermagoras, and their fellows defined rhetoric as the power of persuasion. It compassed refutation, evidence, the structure of the speech, methods of delivery, and the other elements of our modern argumentation. The present-day student of debate will find much illumination of his subject by reading Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Quintilian's *Institutes*, Cicero's *De Oratore*, and will understand how rich is our forensic heritage from Greece and Rome.

***F.* Argumentation and Speech.** Finally, argumentation and debate are usually taught and practiced as forms of public speaking. He who argues is for the most part engaged in the exercise of oral communication. He thinks on his feet; uses his voice with desirable quality, force, and pitch; pronounces accurately; and maintains desirable bodily action and mental poise. Since speech rests upon the sciences of psychology, physiology, physics, and phonetics, the student of debate should recognize the debt he owes to these sciences.

Thus the solid structure of argument is based upon numerous arts and sciences, chief among them logic, law, psychology, ancient and modern rhetoric, and speech.

V. Educational Importance of Argumentation

Aside from the practical importance and universal application of argument, discussion, debate, or persuasion the study of these arts is fully justified as a course in the curriculum because of the educational values of study and practice in the classroom.

***A.* Mental Activity.** If, for instance, the purpose of education is primarily to encourage thinking, then the subject of argumentation deserves a central place in the curriculum. Successful debating provokes original and constructive thought. At every turn the opponent, real or imaginary, challenges and criticizes the argument. It is a battle of wits. The result is increased mental power and alertness. Good debaters must be thinkers. Second-hand opinions and third-hand information soon show the would-be debater for what he is — a superficial reasoner. Then, too, in the hewing of arguments and in the preparation and presentation of briefs, systematic and methodical habits are formed. Accuracy and thoroughness accompany clear thinking.

***B.* Broadmindedness.** Another advantage, perhaps even more important, is the development of broadmindedness. Thorough preparation must mean a knowledge of the subject. He who investigates honestly and fearlessly is bound to develop a catholic

judgment, an ability to appreciate the rival attitude, and a reasonable sympathy with that point of view. Under such training his prejudices must surely diminish.

C. **Practice in Speaking.** Since argument often takes the form of oral discussion, training for debating should mean practice in public speaking. The winner in the contest is often he who speaks most persuasively; therefore it pays to study carefully all the arts of the platform. From the start the student of argument will find practical interest in proper bearing, gesture, pronunciation, enunciation, and control of the voice.

D. **Study of Current Problems.** Still another benefit of argumentative training results from the study of current problems. Debate usually concerns itself with important problems of the time — economic, social, and political. The experienced disputant, with his close investigation of such questions, should have definite information and well-grounded opinions concerning issues of national interest. Thus debating is excellent training for intelligent citizenship.

E. **A Search for Truth.** But why argue? Why not live and let live, with every man free to work out his own philosophy undisturbed by the attempts of others to force him into some mental attitude? Isn't the expository mood or the coöperative spirit more scientific and intelligent? It is sometimes charged that argument creates an atmosphere of feudal strife rather than that of modern science with its dispassionate investigation of truth, its constantly corrected judgments, and its coöperative spirit. This objection assumes that debate exists merely to gratify the pugnacious instinct. As a matter of fact, we argue not only because we want to discover truth, but also because we want to make truth prevail. Only thus can society make progress. But, it may be objected, our continual talking is for the most part futile and helps not at all in the furtherance of our cause; moreover, the cause, if a righteous one, will survive and proceed triumphantly whether or not we speak. On the contrary, debate and argument clear the atmosphere, scatter error, and hasten

progress. You who discuss know that the world has moved onward and upward more rapidly because of the army of talkers. The great ally, then, of truth is free and full discussion of matters about which opinion differs. The student, therefore, who is learning in the classroom and on the platform the technique for an honest defense of these right convictions and intelligent policies is committed to a most practical and worthy task.

VI. Principles for the Mastery of Argumentation, Public Discussion, and Debate

You who plan to develop in the field of discussion will put aside the popular impression that debate may be mastered by seizing upon a principle here and there and supplementing it with voluble talk. The conquest of the art requires long application and training. These include, first, frank self-analysis of your shortcomings and needs; secondly, ability to frame and analyze a subject for debate; thirdly, habits and methods of accumulating knowledge and thinking on that material; fourthly, ability to synthesize your ideas in the form of a brief; fifthly, power to analyze a special audience and to adapt your material effectively; sixthly, practice in stating the arguments persuasively; seventhly, ability to criticize your own work; and finally, a will to persist and master the art of persuasion.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS[1]

1. "Argumentation is the art of producing in the mind of another person acceptance of ideas held true by a writer or speaker, and of inducing the other person, if necessary, to act in consequence of his acquired belief" (Baker and Huntington, *The Principles of Argumentation*, p. 7). "Argumentation is the art of influencing others, through the medium of reasoned discourse, to believe or act as we

[1] The instructor will use his discretion in assigning the exercises and problems following each chapter. The practice material here offered is sufficiently varied and extensive to permit wide opportunity for adaptation to the needs of individual classes.

wish them to believe or act" (O'Neill, Laycock, and Scales, *Argumentation and Debate*, p. 1). "Argument is denial, followed by proof and counterproof with distinction" (Covington, *Fundamentals of Debate*, p. 4). Discuss each of these definitions and compare with the definition in this chapter; bring to the class other definitions that you regard as satisfactory. Formulate an original definition.

2. Psychologists tell us that in the last analysis conviction and persuasion are the same, that the appeal is really to the entire personality, and that psychologically the attempted distinction is artificial. Shall students of argumentation, therefore, discard the terms *conviction* and *persuasion* and the familiar division? (Consult O'Neill, Laycock, and Scales, *Argumentation and Debate*, pp. 3 ff.)

3. Select an editorial which you regard as argumentative. Point out elements that seem to be contentious and those that are genuinely argumentative. Distinguish the expository and the argumentative passages. Note the illustrations of persuasion.

4. Take notes on a public lecture, sermon, or campaign speech. Report the nature and effectiveness of the appeal.

5. "The debater, like the poet, dramatist, or essayist, may be a creative artist of the highest order." Discuss this statement. Illustrate from English, American, and other literatures to prove or disprove the point of view.

6. Explain with the aid of specific examples the temper of the expository, the descriptive, and the narrative writer. Cite passages in fiction and drama in which argument is found. Present editorials in which both argument and exposition are used.

7. Select a satisfactory definition of logic and give a somewhat complete explanation of the field of logic.

8. What prominent political or religious orators of the day have you heard? Characterize the style of Bryan, Wilson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and others.

9. Suggest advantages, other than those enumerated in this chapter, of the study of argumentation. What are some possible disadvantages and objections? Should a course in argumentation be required of all school or college students?

10. List the important public questions upon which every school or college student should be informed.

11. Give a five-minute speech on any one of the following topics:
    a. Persuasive speaking as a business asset
    b. Debating as training for citizenship
    c. A definition of persuasion
    d. What is belief?
    e. Conviction and persuasion
    f. Reason
    g. Public discussion
    h. Debating as training for selling life insurance
    i. Argumentation and logic
    j. Argumentation and English composition
    k. Debating as training in public speaking
    l. What argument owes to ancient Greece
    m. Debating and open-mindedness
    n. Why argue?
    o. Debating and the study of current problems

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CHAPTER II

DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

I. PREVALENCE OF DEBATING AND DISCUSSION. II. THE GENERAL FIELD OF DEBATE. III. DEBATING REFORMS AND INNOVATIONS. IV. THE FIELD OF GROUP DISCUSSION

I. Prevalence of Debating and Discussion

Debating, as suggested in the previous chapter, is argument, usually oral, under definite rules. Legislative debates relate to a motion and conform strictly to parliamentary law and rules that limit discussion. The Webster-Hayne debate on state rights was based upon the Foote resolution, Resolved, *That the committee on public lands be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of public lands remaining unsold within each state and territory, and whether it is expedient to limit, for a certain period, the sales of public lands to such lands only as have heretofore been offered for sale and are now subject to entry at the minimum price.* Court-room pleas before judge or jury are also limited by rules of evidence and other legal restrictions. The open forum as practiced at Cooper Union, New York, and at Ford Hall, Boston, has provided for public discussion of great educational value. Platform debates like the Lodge-Lowell discussion on the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, or the Bryan-Darrow debate on the merits of evolution, fill the front pages of dailies and hold the attention of hundreds of thousands of radio listeners. Discussions on street corners and in parks, notably those at Hyde Park, London, where speakers defend every sort of opinion and submit to cross-examination and heckling, might also be put down as debates, although the free atmosphere eliminates practically every rule of procedure. Discussion and debate are the inevitable accompaniments of free speech and universal suffrage.

II. The General Field of Debate

A. **The Rise of Interscholastic and Intercollegiate Debate.** Our modern college debating has developed from the famous "student debates" of Revolutionary days, when the literary societies were in their prime in Eastern colleges and when the undergraduate who excelled in forensics was easily the central figure on the campus. With the rise of the intercollegiate sport, beginning with the Harvard-Yale debate in 1893, the rules multiplied. Colleges east and west evolved complicated machinery to govern their debates; secondary schools took up the art; state universities fostered state-wide debate leagues that today include hundreds of schools in a single state and provide for series upon series of interschool clashes, all conducted under rigid rules that sometimes prohibit even applause by the audience.

B. **Debate Leagues.** The typical intercollegiate debate is conducted under a triangular contract, in which three schools meet each other on the same night, each having two teams. Sometimes two schools debate each other, again each with two teams. Larger organizations, like the Eastern Intercollegiate Debate League with nine universities and colleges, for the most part prove unwieldy. Now and then a college team will travel hundreds of miles, meeting many opponents and debating either side of many questions. The subject chosen is almost invariably a practical one of current political or economical significance.

C. **Number of Speakers.** Three speakers make up the conventional team, each one having a main speech of ten or twelve minutes and a second speech or rebuttal of five minutes. Occasionally, to cut down traveling expenses, to give each speaker a slightly longer time, or to raise the standard of the game by selecting only superior speakers, two make up a team, and sometimes only one. Objection, however, comes from both educators and students if only a few out of a student body of hundreds or thousands have opportunity on the teams.

D. **Work of the Speakers.** The first speaker for the affirmative has the advantage of an opportunity to present his speech exactly as he has prepared it. His manner should be easy, conciliatory, and judicial. His business is to explain in simple, interesting terms the meaning of the proposition and the real issues upon which hinges the decision. This analysis should be brief and understandable; it should lead logically to the argument proper. The first negative opponent must rise to the requirements of the moment. His ability in extemporaneous discussion must immediately make itself felt. He must agree or disagree with the affirmative analysis; he must point out sharply the real difference between the two sides, and take the edge from the impression made by the opening speech. The alternating speakers thereafter must continually adapt themselves to the occasion. Cut-and-dried speeches must be discarded. The performance must be a genuine debate. The thrusts back and forth must be from the shoulder. Fair play and sound reasoning alone must win. Whatever happens, the speaker must keep his head. He must keep the audience with him. He must make them see his case; he must avoid the temptation to ramble among inconsequential details; he must stick to the main things and must insist upon debating only essential issues.

The two or three affirmative speakers must together present and defend a unified "case." The negative speakers must undermine it either as a whole or in part, and may or may not build up an alternative proposal.

E. **Time Limits.** Time limits are strictly observed. A two-minute warning from the timekeeper is usually given. After the final tap of the bell the speaker is allowed only to finish his sentence; he must speedily retire. Student debaters clamor for much time on the platform; the audience, however, becomes much bored after one hour and thirty minutes. Hence the sharp warnings and the compromise between the zealous debaters and a less enthusiastic audience. Many intercollegiate debates are now limited to one hour.

F. **The Director of Debate.** To make a creditable showing for the school or university, an adviser, known as the director or coach, supervises the preparation of the team. Sometimes he is a member of the faculty, sometimes not. His supervision may range all the way from a casual meeting with the team to a very rigid direction of their work, which would include the gathering of material, taking notes, organization of the brief, writing the speech, and the practice in delivery of main speech and rebuttals.

G. **Instructions for Judging.** The purpose of the contest is to decide which team has debated more effectively. Just what effective debating is has never been settled or agreed upon, as anyone who reads current texts or listens to professional discussions on this subject will note. However, the instructions to judges, which are sometimes quite elaborate, stipulate that "the decision is to be given on the merits of the debate rather than on the merits of the question" and that "material is of more importance than form." It is furthermore suggested that "should one team excel in delivery and the other in material, the decision should go to the team that excels in material." Usually judges are expected to give due credit for (1) general knowledge of the subject, (2) skill in analysis, (3) amount of evidence, (4) skill in handling arguments and in building up a logical case, (5) absence of fallacious reasoning, (6) teamwork, (7) skill in rebuttal and refutation, (8) excellence in rhetorical organization and in the use of English, and (9) excellence in delivery, including platform manners, voice, bodily action, enunciation, persuasiveness, and personal qualities, such as tact, mental power, fair-mindedness, and humor. A sample ballot follows:

INSTRUCTIONS TO JUDGES

You are requested to determine which team should be awarded the decision. In general you are to consider the merits of the debate and not the merits of the question; you are to determine which team has done the more effective debating. You are to maintain absolute

neutrality in regard to the question, the speakers, and the institutions or organizations involved. In rendering your decision you are to consider the following points of comparison between the teams:

A. Which team shows a more complete knowledge of the subject?

B. Which team shows throughout the debate a greater skill in analysis of the question?

* *C*. Which team shows superior skill in using arguments backed up by evidence and in building up a logical case?

* *D*. Which team shows greater skill in refutation and rebuttal? (Remember that a debate is an intellectual grapple, a give-and-take discussion.)

E. Which team is superior in rhetorical organization and in the use of English?

F. Which team is superior in delivery, including platform manners, voice, bodily action, enunciation, ability in extemporaneous speech? (Discount memorized speeches.)

G. Which team is superior in persuasiveness, including tact, humor, fair-mindedness, and similar qualities? (Distinguish genuine argument from mere oratorical embellishment.)

(Although no mathematical percentages should be assigned to the various items above, it is agreed that in general material and argument are more important than delivery. The more weighty points are starred.)

In my opinion the _____
(affirmative or negative)

representing _____ has done the more
(name of institution)

effective debating.

Signed _____
(Judge)

***H*. Number and Character of Judges.** How many judges should be used? Formerly, three judges, representative men from the community or the state, who conferred at the end of the discussion and sometimes engaged in a second debate of their own, were universally used. Those selected were former debaters, lawyers, teachers, or, occasionally, business men or preachers. In recent years the vote by ballot immediately after the close of the debate has been substituted for the conference.

I. **The Expert Judge.** More recently the practice of having a single expert judge has been growing, especially in the Middle West. Three or five judges who possess the necessary qualifications and who are willing to submit to the duty have been hard to find. (An even number of judges has been taboo as offering an opportunity for a "no decision," a result sometimes inevitable in athletic competition but not to be tolerated in the debating realm, especially in debating tournaments.) A teacher of debating, who knows the exercises through and through and who, in theory at any rate, lays aside any prejudice and votes for that team which demonstrates on the platform greater ability as debaters, has been preferred. It has been counted a bargain to pay such a one for his services. After the contest his explanation of his vote and his criticism of the teams are regarded as highly helpful to the cause of good debating.

This expert judge, it must be emphasized, should know the technicalities of debate. He should know fully the subject under discussion, so that he can point out the general inaccuracies as well as the accuracies. Furthermore, he should consent to judge only if he has every reason to believe that he will be free from bias on the question or toward the institutions or speakers involved. Also, it goes without saying that in the contest itself he should be constantly alert and should take many rather than few notes. In his explanation of his decision he should be brief but clear and definite. He should explain to the audience his standards for judging and should state more than the fact that in delivery a team is superior; he should explain specifically how it is superior in that department of the contest. If possible, he should also meet the debaters in a group and give individual criticism. The right type of critic-judge will prove immensely helpful.

J. **Criticisms of Debate.** Along with the spread and development of debating in American schools and colleges has developed a wholesale indictment of the entire procedure. The purpose of the contest, the coach, the judges, methods of preparation, and the delivery have all been vigorously attacked.

III. Debating Reforms and Innovations

In spite of this indictment the advantages of debate, if properly conducted, are so obvious and so generally indorsed by educators that the proposal to abandon the practice has met with little response. Hardly an institution of higher education in America is without its intercollegiate debate teams.

A. **The "Oregon Plan."** One proposal, typical of many, for making the debate more interesting to an audience, for spurring on the speakers to more complete preparation, for insuring more satisfactory rebuttals, is the so-called Oregon plan for debating.[1] Under this plan two speakers are on a team. The first affirmative speaker presents the entire affirmative case in (say) twelve minutes; then the first negative has an equal amount of time for presenting the entire negative case. The second negative cross-examines the first affirmative for eight minutes, and the first negative is examined by the second affirmative (also for eight minutes). The second negative then presents a summary of the negative case, and finally the second affirmative summarizes his side, each of these final speeches being limited to eight minutes. The cross-examination is limited to specific questions; the chairman rules concerning the relevancy of the questions and of the answers. Critic-judges vote at the end.

B. **Decisionless Debates.** Why not abolish utterly the decisions? Some schools and colleges have done so. This decisionless method attempts to discuss the question entirely on its merits and to eliminate every vestige of competition. Can you banish these decisions, or the "game" feature, and retain interest in the exercise? Probably not. Occasional meetings of this type are doubtless desirable; but as the sole method of working out a program for use between societies, classes, schools, or colleges the plan would kill debating. It is clear that you cannot have a real football game with no teams, no judges, no goal posts. It is

[1] J. S. Gray, "The Oregon Plan of Debating," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* (April, 1926), Vol. XII, pp. 175–179.

equally clear that you cannot have a debating contest after you have deliberately scrapped the machinery. What would be the incentive for two schools to get together year after year? With school spirit eliminated, with no "home" or "visiting" team, with the sport element conscientiously eliminated, it is hard to conceive of audiences in considerable numbers following the debates year after year, and especially hard to conceive of debaters undergoing the thorough preparation peculiar to American debate.

1. *Interest in Opinion as a Motive.* "But isn't the impetus to true conviction," you may ask, "sufficient to call out the best student minds and to guarantee at least as complete preparation as that which now takes place?" It is to be doubted whether discussion for the mere sake of setting forth opinion will attract numbers of students or lead them to undergo that vigorous preparation made by the debater who is out to win.

2. *Desirability of Competition.* "But," you may object, "that is just the trouble — teams are out to win. And that object degrades the whole performance." Are we to renounce, then, the whole principle of competition? We recognize and encourage it in the economic world and in the scholastic world. University systems of awarding honors both in America and in England are based upon the theory of competition. In England the stimulus to scholarship rests upon an elaborate system of competition for prizes and honors. The fact "that competition may be carried further than is wise does not prove that it is not valuable as a stimulus." [1]

3. *Miscellaneous Equivalent Incentives for creating Interest.* Cannot we provide a substitute motive for the spur to win? Mere ambition to utter the truth and to discomfit a rival will hardly be a dependable objective. Election to an honorary society, the opportunity for college men to match wits with the women of a neighboring institution, the prospect of replying to

[1] A. L. Lowell, "Competition in College," *The Atlantic Monthly* (June, 1909), Vol. CIII, pp. 822–831.

questions from the floor, the stimulus of a discussion with speakers from a British or Australian university — such motives call forth fine debating energy. But such motives and situations, of course, are exceptional.

Decisionless discussion has much to contribute in the matter of informal delivery, identity of speaker with audience, sincere presentation, an atmosphere of reality in place of that of extreme artificiality. Surely schools will do well to use it on occasion and to rejoice when it results in improved debating. But call it what it is — discussion — and not contest debating. Our problem is that of retaining competitive debating, purged, if possible, of any weaknesses and conducted in the spirit of the most liberal and recent educational thought. If competition in debate will endanger those educational values, then the debating game had better be abandoned. But there is no evidence to prove that those educational values are seriously threatened.

***C.* Open-Forum Debating with Audience Decision.** Another proposed reform that has many adherents is that of using the so-called open-forum, audience-decision program. The speakers according to this arrangement may or may not have rebuttals. The distinguishing feature is that the vote is by the audience and is on the merits of the question rather than on the merits of the debate. The problem of the speaker, therefore, is not so much to display effective speaking as it is to convince the audience that his side of the question is the proper one. The purpose is to change the belief of an audience, and not merely to make a superior exhibition of technical debating.

1. *British University Type of Debate.* This open-forum system, practiced in this country for years, has also been characteristic of the well-known British debating societies, the Oxford Union Society and the Cambridge Union Society. The numerous visits of their debaters to America since 1922 have undoubtedly influenced the trend of debating in American schools and colleges. A greater degree of informality has resulted, whether for good or ill remains to be determined.

The Oxford Union Society, for example, is a literary social club, founded a century ago, and includes several hundred students from the twenty-odd colleges. The Union, with the presiding officer's dais, the benches for the government and the opposition, the party leaders, and the "aye" and "no" exits, duplicates the House of Commons.

Each of the three or four speakers of the evening is assigned to the side that represents his convictions. With little or no reference to his colleague he gives his individual argument, usually some fifteen minutes long. If he persists, no bell shuts him off. A polite note from the secretary may remind him of the time. He follows no brief, reproduces no carefully worked-out manuscript. The constant heckling may inspire him to unexpected power in argument. He tries to be natural, informal, conversational; he scores with his wit, invective, and persuasiveness, more than with statistics. No judges are there to pass on the merits of the debate. The aim is to establish conviction rather than to obtain a technical decision; to arrive at truth rather than to play a game.

An open forum, with perhaps fifteen or twenty speeches from the floor, follows. Finally, not long before midnight, the three hundred or four hundred members divide and vote on the merits of the question, usually a problem of national or international policy, but sometimes one of quaint philosophy, such as RESOLVED, *That this House pities its grandchildren.* Thus the British system exemplifies the judgeless, open-forum, parliamentary discussion. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this system as compared with the competitive debate?

2. *Advantages and Disadvantages of the Open-Forum, Audience-Decision Form of Debate.* In general the plan presumably fosters genuine conviction, because each speaker talks only on that side which represents his real mental attitude. Moreover, the open-forum, audience-decision plan establishes an intimacy between the speaker and the audience which makes for better speaking

and approaches the public-speaking conditions of life after school. The style is thus more personal, persuasive, humorous, interesting.

The chief disadvantage is that it may make for superficial preparation and thus destroy the thoroughness of training, one of the accompaniments of American debate. Furthermore, with the substitution of a vote on the merits of the question for that on the merits of the debate the sport element disappears and the result is likely to be a loss of audience interest and attendance.

3. *Audience Decision before and after the Debate.* If the contest feature of the debate is to be retained and if the appeal is to be made to the audience, then some plan should be worked out for measuring the change of audience opinion as a basis for deciding the contest. A vote *before* the debate followed by one *after* the debate, the same audience participating as judges in both cases, has been used as more enlightening than a vote at the end only. The ballot would be arranged somewhat as follows:

Before the Debate	After the Debate
___ Favorable to the proposal	___ Favorable to the proposal
___ Neutral	___ Neutral
___ Opposed to the proposal	___ Opposed to the proposal

The vote would be based upon conviction about the question and not upon the "merits of the debate." A comparison of the votes before and after the discussion will enable you to measure the shift of opinion.

The ballots may be collected and counted while the open forum is in progress. Group the ballots according to the votes cast before the debate into three sections, *affirmative, neutral, negative.* Then on the basis of the votes after the debate classify each of the piles into three subpiles labeled *unchanged, neutral, negative* (if, for illustration, the affirmative pile is used). Next tabulate the figures and make calculation of the final score. This method,

if fairly accurate means of measuring changes of audience opinion can be worked out, will eliminate the critic-judges, substitute a more direct type of arguing, and at the same time preserve the contest element. The following is a sample audience ballot with a method of scoring:

AUDIENCE BALLOT

Each member of the audience is requested to record his opinion on the question, _____, both before and after the debate.
(*State the resolution*)
This vote is to represent the individual conviction on the question and is in no sense to be construed as a vote on the relative merits of the two teams.

Before the debate I am

(Mark X in the proper space)

___ Favorable to the affirmative of the proposition
___ Neutral on the proposition
___ Opposed to the affirmative of the proposition

After the debate I am now

(Mark X in the proper space)

___ Favorable to the affirmative of the proposition
___ Neutral on the proposition
___ Opposed to the affirmative of the proposition

Signed _____

A change of vote from favorable to neutral would represent a loss of one point; from favorable to unfavorable, two points; a change from unfavorable to favorable, a gain of two points; from neutral to favorable, one point. It has been suggested [1] that the winning team could then be decided by determining the ratio of the total points accumulated for a given side to the total opportunities for scoring; the total opportunities for a given side would be a sum equal to twice the number of votes recorded for the opposing side previous to the debate, plus the number of neutral votes recorded before the debate.

[1] By Professor H. S. Woodward in conversation with the author.

4. *Sincerity and Debating.* One of the chief indictments brought against debate is that speakers are too often ready to press with glibness either side of a question and that their desire to win results in a degree of insincerity. Theodore Roosevelt's condemnation of debate on this score is well known. "What we need," he says, "is to turn out of our colleges young men with ardent convictions on the side of the right; not young men who can make a good argument for either right or wrong as their interests bid them. The present method of carrying on debates on such subjects as 'Our Colonial Policy,' 'The Need of a Navy,' or 'The Proper Position of the Courts in Constitutional Questions,' encourages precisely the wrong attitude among those who take part in them. There is no effort to instill sincerity and intensity of conviction. On the contrary, the net result is to make the contestants feel that their convictions have nothing to do with their arguments." [1] It is agreed that the purpose of the game of debate ought to be something more than the winning of a technical decision, and that if you debate with facility on either side in a public discussion, pretending to believe in a cause to which in reality you are opposed, you are both misrepresenting yourself to the audience and laying a foundation for moral weakness. Ancient rhetoricians — Aristotle, for example — stated that the speaker should be true to his convictions.

Yet it needs but little investigation to make clear that as a beginner in debate you probably have few settled convictions in regard to such problems as are debated. With good conscience you may take either side. You recognize that your conclusions are only tentative, indeed that fresh thought over night may wreck your entire case and lead you to revise your judgment. Each debate is after all only a step in the broad experiment to arrive at a stable conclusion, and four or six speakers on a given occasion do not pretend to speak for all time concerning their views on the problem. Moreover, as a debater you will recognize the coöperative

[1] Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 27–28. By permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

element in discussion. You will aim to do more than convince an audience; you will think and speak with your hearers. The result will be a social discussion and a social decision. Like the scientist you will learn to classify and to arrange, and to ignore no part of the field of investigation. Hence there is logical justification for pitting team against team. Such teamwork need not be at the expense of that individualism of speakers who, like Emerson's scholar, propose to walk on their own feet and speak their own minds. These considerations all indicate that the debating game, properly played, does not necessarily produce sophistry or mendacity.

***D.* Suggestions for Improving Debate.** The following suggestions are offered for the improvement of debating:

1. *Mastery of the Art of Debate in the Classroom.* Master the art of debate. To save debating from mediocrity and worse let us so apply the technique that those who listen will respect this student activity.

2. *An Able Director of Debate in the Classroom.* Select a wise director for the team. Let him be called an adviser or director of debating, rather than a coach. The latter individual has been by practice a sort of intellectual football coach who often drives his debating teams hard and sure, but who in his determination to win overlooks on occasion the educational elements involved and thus perverts the sport. The adviser or director will select teams and call them together for general advice on methods of gathering material and working up the case. His main function will be to inspire rather than to command. His work throughout will be that of a critic and not that of a member of the team. His teams, it is hoped, will work as enthusiastically and effectively as those of the old-style coach and will doubtless win an honorable share of victories. The principal difference, measured by the results, is that teams under the influence of an educational director develop more self-reliance and a more intelligent conception of the ultimate end of discussion — that is, the presentation of the truth no less than the gaining of a technical point.

3. *A Desirable Question.* Select a question that is interesting and technical. It may often be a local issue, one related to the experience of the speakers. It should attract an audience, for debaters have little inspiration in addressing a multitude of empty seats. The success of the discussion, however, is not to be measured merely by the number of people who are willing to attend, for many questions need to be threshed out by college debaters, on subjects that by general admission appeal to relatively few people. We need to get away from the impression that the success of the debate is to be measured by the number of heads that may be counted. Demagogues depend to a degree for their crowds upon the sensational character of their subjects, as widely announced. School and university debaters are to be justified at times in selecting topics that will appeal to comparatively few. These suggestions in regard to propositions will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

4. *Thorough Preparation.* Insist upon thorough preparation. The proposed reforms in debating, calculated to make the speaker a more human and companionable person as he faces an audience, also encourage the emphasis upon persuasion to the neglect of genuine argument. The educational justification of argument has been the severe mental discipline offered, a type of intellectual expression that has led debating in some institutions to be regarded as the gauge of the intellectual efficiency of the college. The surest way to discredit college forensics is to sponsor debates for which the contestants have made only shallow preparation. If twenty years ago college teams spent too many weeks or months in preparation for debate, today they spend too few. Twenty-four-hour debates and similar extemporaneous programs have not helped. You and your colleagues in debate should give at least six weeks of solid preparation for a public debate on some important question, and you should know your facts and arguments.

5. *Speaking from Conviction.* As far as possible set forth only that side of the case that reflects your real convictions. Some

truth is found in the indictment that glibness is often encouraged at the sacrifice of conviction. If the debater has a firm belief that any preparation against war is wrong, he should not be expected to talk in an intercollegiate contest in support of such preparedness. Usually this problem of student sincerity may be solved by each opponent's having two teams which present opposite sides of a given proposition. Then, too, we agree that in regard to many questions the undergraduate opinion is so undeveloped that the question of well-grounded conviction is absent. Concerning many social, political, and economic questions students, like other human beings, have comparatively little knowledge and are ready to investigate and discuss either side. Too little care has been taken, however, to encourage the genuine expression of the student's independent opinion.[1]

IV. The Field of Group Discussion

***A.* Relation of Group Discussion to Debate.** Note the clear differences between conventional debate and committee discussion. Whereas debate consists of competitive argumentation for the purpose of establishing a given proposition, committee discussion substitutes coöperative thinking for the purpose of uniting and crystallizing opinion. Discussion at its best means continual weighing of a proposition, modification of it, even substitution of a different proposal until the ideas of the assembly coalesce. The outcome is collective opinion. The vote at the end represents a social judgment.

As the two types are different in their aim, so are they different as far as the relation of speaker to audience is concerned. Debate is an exercise for — I was about to say exhibition of — leaders, separated from the audience; those leaders are skilled in argument and enthusiastic in upholding their side. Group discussion is an

[1] Part of the material for this chapter has been condensed from the author's article "Shall American Universities adopt the British System of Debating?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* (June, 1923), Vol. IX, pp. 215–222.

informal session of a committee of the whole, without a speaker's platform, without official leaders, without audience in the sense of audience spectators; each member participates in the discussion and bears his share of responsibility for the decisions.

Again debate, as suggested previously, is usually bilateral, in that the affirmative ground is carefully mapped out and the negative territory drawn with equal care. The die-hard affirmative is matched by an unyielding negative. Discussion, by contrast, recognizes no "yea" or "nay." Strongly affirmative, mildly affirmative, neutral, and strongly negative presently find themselves on the same side, or they discover that the problem is multilateral rather than bilateral.

***B.* Practical Application of Group Discussion.** Group discussion is an excellent exercise in training for social thinking. Despite our constantly expanding social life and the necessity for practice in living and thinking together, we citizens and prospective citizens have failed to make full use of a speech situation which encourages the unified dealing with a problem. Debate invites a division of the house. Its most appropriate physical conditions are those of the British House of Commons, where the benches are arranged in opposing rows on either side of the speaker's chair, with Government arrayed against Opposition. The group-discussion situation disarms the divisive spirit, substitutes the "Come-let-us-reason-together" spirit, and trains men and women in social self-control. It calls for emotional restraint and an absence of "crowd-mindedness." It is the logical speaking-technique to develop in a community.

***C.* Limitations of Group Discussion.** Where the issue becomes sharply drawn, as it almost always does in legislatures, court rooms, or on the political platform, group discussion must give way to debate. Majorities must be determined; noses must be counted. Otherwise deadlocks and stagnation would follow. Because our democracy must get on, we cannot linger during the months or years that might be necessary for a group to arrive at a consensus of opinion regarding the issue. As a preliminary to

formal debate and as a device to be used where sharp differences of opinion and prejudice may not develop, the group discussion is of great value.

D. **The Technique of Discussion.** The chairman of the group calls the meeting to order, states the problem, and calls for further interpretation and for solution. Each member rises in turn and states his opinion. The speaker may merely give additional facts concerning the problem; he may indorse what has been said; or he may present a solution which modifies slightly or materially the previous proposals. After the problem has been considered fully, the chairman will announce the decision of the committee to agree or to disagree.

E. **Illustration of Technique of Discussion.** Let us take for example an informal conference of men interested in municipal government. The group is to limit itself purely to discussion without taking any votes. The chairman, after outlining briefly the machinery for the administration of municipal justice, states the problem, "How shall we improve the administration of justice in American municipalities? For example, how can we get the cities to pay more attention to crime prevention? How can the training of the police department be improved? Would the establishment of a state police force solve the local problem of law enforcement? Should the police department be separated from the department of public safety? Should the jury system be abolished? Or what other possibilities may be presented for solving the problem?"

After a number of preliminary remarks the group discusses as follows the relation of the jury system to the punishment of offenders:

Mr. A. The way to improve the administration of local justice is to secure a more potent public opinion to support law enforcement. I believe in the retention of the jury system because it represents public opinion.

Mr. B. It seems to me that in this discussion we must draw a careful distinction between "representing the public" and "representing

public opinion." Juries represent the public; they should never be described as representing public opinion.

Mr. A. Yes, but the fact is that public opinion does reflect itself in the manner in which juries decide and in the manner in which justice is administered. The fact that a commission was appointed in Massachusetts to aid the governor in reviewing the Sacco-Vanzetti case illustrates how public opinion checks up on decisions as given by judges or juries. The decisions of courts should be final. I admit that public opinion should operate, but not to the extent of directly controlling legal decisions.

Mr. C. If juries are not swayed by public opinion, they are at times controlled by lawyers who rule concerning their selection. A certain lawyer friend of mine in a neighboring city recently called me on the phone and recited to me the names of a number of possible jurors and asked my opinion of their fitness. To me they seemed satisfactory. But doesn't this procedure illustrate the possibilities of selecting twelve men and women who might prove favorable to a certain cause or prisoner?

Mr. E. Your example really is an argument for the abolition of the jury system as a means of improving the administration of justice. I agree that this is the best course. Why shouldn't the judge give the decision? It is he who must see to the enforcement of the law. Doesn't the judge know much better how to interpret evidence? Isn't he freer from prejudice?

Mr. F. The questioner is correct in his view. The trouble with our local system is that we have tried to carry over in our municipalities the old theory in government of separation of powers. It doesn't work. We need to consolidate responsibility. Public opinion has no opportunity to work directly in judging the efficiency of the court, the jailer, and the police. Nobody really knows what public opinion is. Let's put the responsibility on the judge. Then public opinion can check up on him.

Mr. G. The suggestion that we abolish the jury system is, in my opinion, open to grave criticism. Consider that the function of the court is to administer the law, not to administer justice. Laws have much injustice in them. But they must be administered. Why not abolish the jury system? First, because the tendency of the law is to get out of touch with public opinion. Of course public opinion should not be all-controlling. We have reverenced the slogan *vox populi*,

vox Dei; but if the voice of the people is the voice of God, then I fear some of us would be atheists. But a compromise, as it were, must be made between public opinion and law. The jury leavens the lump; to change the figure, it takes off the rough spots; to use still another expression, the jury serves to keep law and public opinion in tune.

Mr. F. May I interrupt the speaker? Isn't it true that the ability of the judge is so much greater than that of the common juror that it warrants the substitution in spite of the need which you speak of for leavening the lump? Doesn't the judge know more law?

Mr. G. The jury acts as a buffer between public opinion and the judiciary. It shields the judge from the animus of public opinion. Judges are hated. Any judge who will continue to pile up decisions will be increasingly hated. But you cannot hate a jury. It dissolves. Juries are here today and gone tomorrow. Thus they do a great service and should be retained. A judge is splendid in getting the facts; but he cannot be a buffer between law and public opinion, nor a dissolving body like the jury.

Other arguments in support of the jury system are then offered.

Mr. Chairman. The trend of the discussion seems on the whole to indicate that the jury system should be retained. What other suggestions are to be made for improving the administration of justice?

Mr. H. My constructive suggestion is that we improve the standards of the police department. Why not create standards in that department similar to those in the fire department? There definite requirements are set up which put the various cities under direct competition. An examiner — an expert — will come along and say, "Your fire apparatus is deficient in this item; your personnel lacks at that point." Why not apply these same competitive measures to our police activities and organization? Why not call in experts on police departments?

Mr. J. Does Mr. H. mean that he will have an expert to diagnose the police activities?

Mr. H. Yes, I had that idea also in mind.

Mr. J. We have had too many experts tinkering with our departments of city government. Experts in foreign diplomacy have brought disaster. The expert in local government has spoiled many a good cause. For example, he may be called in to advise about sidewalk

placement and other sidewalk improvements. He consults his texts on engineering and offers a theoretical program which in many cases fails to take account of the practical requirements and conditions. We have been too prone to shift responsibility to experts. For example, tragedy after tragedy has taken place in the management of the water-supply problem in this state because we have relied on experts. One high-priced adviser gives one type of advice; another, a directly opposite opinion. In the end both turn out to be wrong. Your costly expert needs to be watched and to be defined. I have in mind no definite alternative to the expert, but I do think we place too much faith in him.

Mr. P. My idea of a municipal expert is anyone who is talking away from home. [Laughter]

Mr. K. May I define an expert as a long-haired reformer or some other incompetent who pretends to reform the police? [More laughter] Seriously, we must get our standards for police reforms from some source other than the criticism of an expert. First of all, you'll have to get the data about how the police system operates. If you cannot do that, you cannot give public opinion a chance to operate. For public health the data are available. If more than 14 per cent of the people are ill in a community, you call your health officer on the carpet. In that branch of public administration we have worked out a definite statistical basis for determining efficiency. But with the police we have no real information.

Mr. M. May I ask the speaker what standards we shall have in mind for this testing? Shall it be the number of arrests? or the number of crimes punished? or what?

Mr. K. I find it somewhat difficult to answer your question, but for a group of cities of considerable size I should say that you should find out (1) the number of offenses known to the police; (2) the number of arrests — to indicate the activity of the police; (3) the extent to which the courts take up these cases; and (4) the final treatment of the cases.

The discussion then drifts to the problem of how to enforce law properly in smaller communities. Finally the chairman sums up what has been accomplished and the group adjourns.

F. **Essentials for Success in Group Discussion.** For the success of the method a skilled chairman should be present to guide the thinking, summarize the progress, create and preserve the

discussion atmosphere. The question itself should be definitely phrased and carefully selected so that it will be interesting and significant to the group and will be one about which a unanimous opinion may be possible. Those who participate should have the mental alertness and open-mindedness necessary to a proper decision. Group discussion is a form of argument that will be more and more widely applied in fields where controversy may be controlled and group thinking developed.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Give a five-minute speech on one of the following topics:

a. A history of intercollegiate debate.
b. The school or college literary society.
c. The value of an honorary debating fraternity.
d. The debate league in my state.
e. The purpose of the director of debate.
f. Is the expert judge desirable?
g. Debate judges I have known.
h. Shall we have decisionless debates?
i. Is the British or the American style of debating preferable?
j. The history and purpose of the Oxford Union Society.
k. Shall the audience vote on the merits of the debate?
l. Shall debates be decided on the merits of the debating-technique or on the merits of the question?
m. Shall we substitute the discussion method of argument for the contest-debate method?
n. Conditions for success of group discussion.
o. What awards should debaters receive — money or medals?

2. Do you agree or disagree with the following propositions?

a. Teams should have no coaches.
b. The coach should have an active part in selecting the case and planning the argument.
c. Too much emphasis is placed on winning the debate.
d. Debaters should have only one speech, in which the rebuttal material should be included.
e. Humor should be used more frequently in debates.
f. Audiences should never applaud the home team.

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CHAPTER III

SELECTING AND FRAMING THE PROPOSITION

I. THE SUBJECT IN GENERAL. II. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPOSITIONS. III. PRINCIPLES FOR SELECTING AND FRAMING THE PROPOSITION. IV. IMPORTANCE OF APPLYING THESE PRINCIPLES

I. The Subject in General

What kind of subject is best suited for discussion or debate? The answer depends upon the exact purpose of the occasion, the circumstances that lead to the framing of the proposition, and the response desired. Is the debate to take place in a court room, at a legislative assembly, on a college platform, in a dormitory, on a soap box in a city park, in a Pullman smoker, or at a New England town meeting? In general the subjects may be as broad as human thought and curiosity. Whatever challenges differences of opinion becomes a theme for controversy, whether it be the best brand of cigar or the dimensions of the universe.

Advocates of discussion are loath to circumscribe the field of discussion or to place undue limits on freedom of debate. They believe in general with John Stuart Mill in his essay on "Freedom of Thought and Discussion" [1] that free controversy is necessary because, first, the idea we hold may be essentially false and the only way for us to discover our position is to invite debate; secondly, even if our position is a true one, free discussion is essential to a clearer understanding and a deeper consciousness of its truth; thirdly, debate is always justified when the elements of truth are to be found on both sides and the debate becomes a means of revealing the truth as a whole. Therefore it is fitting and proper in discussion or debate to weigh our

[1] J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, chap. ii. Longmans, Green & Co., 1865.

opinions concerning such a question as whether Eugene O'Neill is the leading American dramatist, whether on the whole people are better off today than they were in the colonial era, whether the world owes more to its scientists than it does to its philosophers, whether our grandchildren are to be envied, or whether business ethics are consistent with sound morality.

II. Classification of Propositions

Propositions may be classified as (1) those of fact, (2) those dealing with proposals advocated as theoretically sound, and (3) those dealing with matters of practical policy.

***A.* Propositions of Fact.** "A proposition of fact consists of any statement that affirms or denies: (1) the existence of things; (2) the occurrence of acts; (3) the classification of objects; or (4) the connection of events." [1] This type of proposition settles the question Is this assertion true? The following propositions are those of fact:

Resolved, *That the results of the World War have tended toward the peace of the world.*

Resolved, *That the State University of —— will be the greatest university in America in the next decade.*

Resolved, *That the Latin-American policy of the United States since 1925 has increased the hostility of South America toward this country.*

***B.* Propositions advocated as theoretically Sound.** A proposition of this type consists of an affirmation or denial that an alleged policy is theoretically desirable. The following are characteristic examples of such propositions:

Resolved, *That the substitution of the judicial settlement of disputes in place of international war should be desirable.*

Resolved, *That the teaching of phonetics in every American college would be desirable.*

[1] W. C. Shaw, *The Art of Debate*, pp. 20–21. Allyn and Bacon, 1922.

RESOLVED, *That the social control of the means and instruments of production and distribution in the United States would be desirable.*

C. Propositions of Policy. A proposition of policy raises the question "Should this course of action be followed?" This type of proposition aims at action, and he who assumes the burden of proof must establish the workable character of his plan. In each case the term *should be* is equivalent to *is both desirable and practicable.* Examples of propositions of policy are as follows:

RESOLVED, *That freshmen at Greentown College should be required to live in dormitories.*

RESOLVED, *That the United States should annex Mexico.*

RESOLVED, *That the required courses in physical training in the State University of Iowa should extend over a four-year period.*

RESOLVED, *That in all American colleges academic credit should be given to each student participating in intercollegiate debating.*

RESOLVED, *That American universities and colleges should require for graduation an average of C or higher in a student's major subject.*

RESOLVED, *That every candidate for the degree of A.B. in American colleges should be required to submit a thesis as one of the prerequisites for graduation.*

RESOLVED, *That a realignment of political parties in the United States should be effected.*

School and college debaters have usually preferred questions of practical policy. Students have preferred to argue whether this or that "should be carried out" rather than whether it is "desirable." The latter word has led to much wrangling by those who insist that if a thing is desirable it ought to be put into effect, as opposed to those who wish to confine the discussion to the realm of theory.

In order to break up the rigid conventionalities of debate, schools and colleges have of late years resorted to questions of fact. In general, audiences, evidently of practical minds, indorse more enthusiastically propositions discussing measures to be acted upon by local, state, or national lawmakers.

III. Principles for Selecting and Framing the Proposition

***A.* State the Subject in the Form of a Proposition.** It is to be noticed that in each example the statement is in the form of a complete sentence with subject and predicate. You may present an exposition, a description, or a narration concerning a term. Argument must rest upon a complete statement. A term is the subject or predicate of a single assertion. It is impossible to argue a term. A belief or opinion which deals with the relation of things cannot be expressed in a word or phrase. To have a complete statement, two terms and a copula are necessary. All matters which men discuss can be so reduced. Although much debate is carried on without formal words in mind, where accuracy is demanded or where a decision is attempted such form is needed. In the motions, indictments, and pleas of courts of law, in the bills and resolutions of legislative assemblies, a complete statement is required. The ease with which the matter can be reduced to a proposition is in proportion to the definiteness of the discussion. The proposition is present whether it is definitely stated or not. The chairman announces that "Senator Smith will discuss the three-cent gas tax." What Senator Smith actually discusses is an unannounced proposition: *The state of Iowa should place a tax of three cents on every gallon of gasoline.*

Sometimes the subject is stated as a question rather than as a declaration, particularly in public discussions where only one speaker presents a set speech prior to the open forum. Thus at Ford Hall, Boston, the programs have announced these subjects:

Are our national standards ethical?
When is marriage a success?
Has the single tax got anywhere?
Does the increased cost of living make a social advance?
What is the matter with the church?
Are the public schools democratic?
Can religion be made scientific?

Is the woman movement going to save society?
Will democracy endure?
Is civilization a disease? [1]

Note that you can never argue an interrogation any more than you can argue a term. The question is merely an attractive form for the popular title of your speech. The proposition, by contrast, is a statement of your theme. A short provocative title, for example, would be, *Shall we censor the American press?* The proposition would be, *Congress should establish a censorship of the American press.*

***B.* Select a Subject adapted to the Speaker.** Prefer that subject which relates itself to your experience and your vital thinking. What holds true of subject matter in general, whether it be that of a story you intend to write or a speech you intend to deliver, is to be applied to the field of discussion. Select the material about which you have reflected, about which you have notions, and about which you think you have a real message for men and women. Perhaps the single tax means little to you, and always will; then you had best discuss some educational or political subject which touches your imagination. The greatest thrill in debate comes when you work in a field with which you are familiar and in which you are interested. Since interest and attention result from focusing on a problem, you can in many cases develop enthusiasm for a topic apparently dull in itself. In general, however, the principle of choosing themes and ideas that are close to your experience should be followed.

***C.* Select a Subject adapted to the Audience.** What is true of writing and speaking in general is true of the argumentative subject. It should appeal to the needs and interests of the listeners. It should fix and hold attention. Curiosity, self-interest, the familiar, the novel, should all be appealed to. Sometimes the subject is as old as human experience. *Shall we live again?* was

[1] G. W. Coleman, *Democracy in the Making*, appendix. Little, Brown & Company, 1915.

contemporary for Job's audience and is so for ours. Again, heavy though it is, *Shall taxes be reduced?* has been debated again and again in and out of Congress, and the reports of such debates continue to furnish front-page headlines. People are interested in their pocketbooks. A Boston labor organization apparently found great interest in discussions on the labor unions, the family of the future, the social center, the democratic ideal, and the socialization of a competitive world. Iowa farm bureaus have discussed with great enthusiasm such questions as the following:

The basis of taxation for state revenue should be incomes rather than property.

The state of Iowa should issue bonds for surfaced primary roads.

Individual farm reorganization and management hold more possibilities for improving the agricultural situation than legislation holds.

The state system of mounted police should be added to our law-enforcement agencies.

University students who were required to undergo military training and who apparently found little interest in the intercollegiate subject *The extraterritorial rights of foreigners in China should be abandoned* became enthusiastic over the question RESOLVED, *That military training and drill should be discontinued in the American universities.*

Secondary-school pupils would be interested in such propositions as the following:

The high school should publish a monthly magazine rather than a school annual.

Attendance at high-school debates should be compulsory.

The state of —— should furnish textbooks to all elementary-school and secondary-school pupils.

A winter-sports project should be adopted in ——.

The faculty of —— High School should have the power to suspend any student for attending a midweek public dance.

One room in the high-school building should be set aside for the use of high-school organizations.

The city of —— should build a gymnasium for the use of the high-school students.

The —— High School should adopt student management of its study hall.

Military drill should be compulsory in all the high schools of the United States.

Vocational-education courses should be given in every accredited high school in the United States.

***D.* Select a Timely Subject.** This principle is really an application of the preceding one, but because of the importance of observing timeliness the suggestion is given special prominence.

It is hard in these days to create great interest in such subjects as RESOLVED, *That senators should be elected by popular vote*, RESOLVED, *That Cleveland's policy with regard to the Venezuelan boundary question was the proper one*, or RESOLVED, *That a young man casting his vote in 1912 should have voted for Theodore Roosevelt.* It is far more desirable to attempt to deal with those issues that are created by the hour, — those, for example, that occupy the front page of the paper. A great many questions are rejected because they are obsolete, such as questions having to do with slavery, bigamy, the press gang, and dueling. Yet colonial undergraduates fought fiercely over some of these issues.

Again, other issues are recurrent. The question RESOLVED, *That the direct-primary system is superior to the convention system* was quiescent for several years, but in 1927 became again of public concern, partly because of the enormous primary expenses incurred by candidates for the United States Senate. In 1912 the issue of the recall of judicial decisions was made popular by Theodore Roosevelt. The same issue became a burning question in the presidential campaign of 1924, largely because of Senator La Follette's denunciations of the Supreme Court. So government ownership of coal mines, the tariff, independence for the

Philippines, and other questions, although debated by our fathers, are still pressing problems on the platform. Ten years after the World War the following subjects were still of importance to Americans:

Congress should establish a national board of censorship of motion pictures.

The United States should adopt a uniform marriage and divorce law.

A Federal department of education with a secretary in the president's cabinet should be established.

The several states should ratify the child-labor amendment.

The United States should cancel the debts owed us by allied nations.

The present tendency of centralization by our Federal government should be condemned.

The Ku-Klux Klan movement should be condemned.

The Great Lakes waterway project should be carried out.

***E.* Select a Subject about which Discussion is Profitable.** The subject, while appealing to the speaker and the audience, should also be one the discussion of which is profitable. Sometimes when the occasion is one for entertainment, the speakers are justified in the problem presented in Frank R. Stockton's story *The Lady or the Tiger*, the question whether the beautiful maiden or the beast came out of the door into the arena. Student literary societies in their lighter moods have discussed the question RESOLVED, *That attendance at recitations interferes unduly with the student's education.* But if the talk in the world is increased, there must be some justification. Furthermore, if we are to change the opinions of men, we must use a subject with which there is some chance of making headway.

1. A subject that can be settled on rational grounds rather than on those of prejudice should be chosen. No moral or legal restraint should be imposed upon those who debate. But it is a fair question whether much of the religious discussion that

goes on is worth while, simply because those who try to convert others to any faith are so deeply moved by sentiment and emotion that the controversy shifts to grounds other than purely rational ones. Some debates on the merits of the Ku-Klux Klan have ended in a free-for-all fight. However, religious topics and others that involve deep feelings should not always be barred, but the limitations of such discussions should be clearly understood in advance.

2. The subject may be unprofitable if it is not capable of specific proof. In childhood we used to discuss what was on the other side of the sun or moon. While such mental exercises doubtless served as excellent intellectual gymnastics, their debating value was doubtful. Medieval schoolmen probably found similar mental stimulation and similar barrenness of concrete results when they disputed the ability of angels to stand on the point of a needle. Federal regulation of coal mines may be a more hackneyed subject, but at least it provides a wealth of concrete material from which logical inferences may be drawn.

3. The question will be more profitable if it is two-sided; that is, if he who opposes the motion has opportunity to present a considerable part of the truth. Such propositions as *The United States has become a world power*, and *It would be contrary to the interests of the United States to annex Canada*, are undesirable because manifestly one-sided.

4. It should be a proposition which makes possible a standard of comparison. A more satisfactory debate results if we can compare the proposal advanced by the affirmative with another held in mind. A close comparison enables one to grasp details and clarify the whole discussion.

Examples of propositions that do afford a definite basis for comparison are the following:

The United States army should be curtailed to one half of its present strength.

The president of the United States should be elected by a direct popular vote instead of by the electoral college.

Coeducation is preferable to separate education of the sexes in American colleges and universities.

***F.* Limit the Subject.** The proposition should be not too broad nor yet too narrow. RESOLVED, *That the future belongs to the Pacific rather than to the Atlantic, The policy of general education has done more harm than good, The results of the World War have tended toward the peace of the world, Civilization is a failure, The world has more to fear than to hope from science*, may be satisfactory for general discussion; but they are hardly to be selected if one hopes for a definite outcome, for each in itself is stated so as to include a dozen other topics of formidable size. On the other hand, RESOLVED, *That tariff for rooms at Androscoggin Institute should be raised ten dollars per term* is somewhat too trivial for the average audience, as would be the subjects *The breakage fee at White University should be canceled*, or *White University football team needs more line plungers in order to win the championship.* Furthermore, it is better to limit the subject to a statement that can be profitably handled in the limited time. A ten-minute debate on the proposition *The record of the Republican party for fifty years justifies our approval of it rather than of the Democratic party* should be limited to the discussion of RESOLVED, *That the Republican policy during the past four years of lowering taxes on big incomes should be approved.*

***G.* Frame the Proposition in a Simple Sentence.** The chief problem of the debater after he has limited his subject is to reduce it to a simple, specific sentence.

The compound structure, for example, is objectionable because it may include two distinct propositions only vaguely related. One of several reasons for refusing to argue the following proposition is its double-headedness: RESOLVED, *That the president of the United States should hold office for one term of six years and should be given authority to declare war.*

The dependent clause, moreover, has no place in the propositional sentence. *If the United States insists upon the collection of the allied war debts owing us, the industries of this country will be ruined* may be more conveniently phrased, *For the United States to insist upon the collection of the allied war debts owing us would mean the ruin of our industries.* Further improvement in the wording would be, *Insistence upon collection by the United States of the allied debts owing us would result in the ruin of our industries.* A more direct statement would be, *Collection of the allied debts due to the United States would ruin American industries.* The student of good debating and of English will find interest and profit in working over at length the statement of this proposition or some similar one, in order to have it meet the tests of concise as well as accurate statement.

***H.* Phrase the Proposition Clearly.** The proposition should contain no ambiguous, superfluous, or question-begging words. An apparently innocent and straightforward statement may precipitate endless wrangling. Such terms as *socialistic system, will of the people, conservatism, best interests,* and *progress* are, if possible, to be avoided. *The nation that keeps its word is the nation that progresses* will leave the debaters offering assorted definitions. The student who recently submitted the proposition RESOLVED, *That Italy used sound judgment in fighting on the winning side in the late war* admitted that "winning side" assumed the conclusion which was intended to furnish the real ground of argument.

Sometimes the use of negative terms causes confusion. *The Monroe Doctrine should no longer form part of the foreign policy of the United States* led one judge to cast his vote for the affirmative when he intended to vote for the negative. So, too, the audience found some perplexity in distinguishing negative from affirmative in the proposition RESOLVED, *That this house looks with disfavor upon anti-evolution legislation.*

***I.* Give to the Affirmative the Burden of Proof.** The proposition should give to the affirmative the burden of proof. Burden of proof is the obligation on one or the other side of influencing

the audience to accept a proposition. Logically the affirmative must assume this obligation, for whoever asserts should also attempt to establish his contention. When the statement advanced is approved in general by the audience, then the burden is really thrown to the negative, who must prove the case. *United States senators should be elected by a direct vote of the people* is a case in point, inasmuch as our Constitution in recent years does provide for such direct vote. It should be noted of course that negative statements, referred to under principle *H*, and the presence of the word *not* do not themselves indicate the presence or the absence of burden of proof. The proposition above on the Monroe Doctrine has the burden on the affirmative, although the statement includes the word *not*. To give to the affirmative the burden, the statement should be framed so that (1) the affirmative advocates a policy or contention strongly opposed to public opinion, or so that (2) the change from existing affairs is advocated, as in the usual question of policy. RESOLVED, *That the issuance of tax-exempt securities should be permitted by law* clearly has the burden on the negative, as do the following propositions:

The Senate rules should not be amended as proposed by Vice President Dawes.

The army and navy departments should continue as separate units.

Each state should refuse to adopt the policy of compulsory voting.

First of all, decide what mature public opinion over a wide area is in regard to the question; then phrase the proposition so that the affirmative must go against this tide of public sentiment. If you are in doubt about the trend of such social sentiment, or if sentiment is not crystallized or is evenly divided, then follow the conventional suggestion of wording the proposition so that a change from existing affairs is proposed. Usually the advocacy of a change will also mean the advocacy of a course of action contrary to popular approval.

IV. Importance of Applying these Principles

The selection of a subject adapted to the speaker and the audience, a subject that is timely, debatable, and so stated that it will be a simple, concise, clear sentence with the burden on the affirmative, is no small task. The statement of the proposition, like the issues, should be tentative. The official wording, at any rate, should not go forth until the author of the resolution has reflected carefully on his sentence. Propositions should be framed and submitted for discussion only by those who have given the time, energy, and reflective thinking needed for the task.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. List ten school problems that should be discussed; ten highly important national problems; five problems that have become prominent in recent weeks.

2. From recent newspapers select five news items or editorials that would furnish subjects for discussion.

3. "Argument must rest upon a complete statement." Select a subject and show how it may furnish material for an exposition, for a narrative, for an argument. Give the title for each of the three discourses.

4. Must the subject for discussion always be expressed? May the subject be stated as a question?

5. What are the advantages, to the audience and to the speaker or writer, of having the subject in the form of a proposition?

6. Illustrate the necessity for the use of a proposition in a court of law, in a legislative assembly, in a parliamentary session, in the pulpit, or on the political platform.

7. Bring to class three properly worded propositions of fact; six propositions of policy.

8. Frame satisfactory propositions on each of the following subjects: intercollegiate football, capital and labor, labor unions, Russia, railroads, coal mines, bonus, the radio.

9. Bring to class a carefully worded proposition for a written argument.

10. Apply the tests of subject matter and phrasing to each of the following propositions:

(1) The limitation of enrollment in American colleges and universities by means other than raising the scholarship standards for entrance is justifiable.

(2) Socialistic control offers a remedy for the present social unrest.

(3) The American policy of nonrecognition of the existing Russian government is justified.

(4) Congress should provide for an airplane battle fleet larger than that of any other nation.

(5) The national capital of the United States should be located at Chicago.

(6) The unenforceable prohibition amendment should be repealed.

(7) Congress should provide for the compulsory arbitration of all disputes between capital and labor in the coal-mining industry and should require the incorporation of labor unions.

(8) Immigration into the United States should be totally prohibited for a period of ten years.

(9) The United States should cancel the debts incurred to us by the Allies during the World War.

(10) This House approves the American policy of noninterference in European affairs.

(11) The United States should intervene in Mexico in order to establish a more intelligent government.

(12) This assembly should approve the theory of the evolutionary development of man.

(13) Eugene O'Neill's *Hairy Ape* is the greatest drama produced by an American.

(14) American cities should adopt the city-manager form of government.

(15) The Federal government should provide for the compulsory consolidation of the railroads of the United States.

(16) The United States should adopt a cabinet form of government as a substitute for the present form.

(17) Judicial decisions should be subject to recall by the people.

(18) Congress should be denied the power to restrict the ability of the Supreme Court to declare acts unconstitutional.

(19) An easier method of amending the Federal Constitution should be adopted.

(20) The United States should retain the Monroe Doctrine and should avoid active participation in European affairs.

(21) The site of ancient Carthage should be preserved for exploration.

(22) The United States should finger-print everybody in the United States to guard against dangerous aliens' entering the United States.

(23) Hunting in the state of Maine should be prohibited for ten years in order to increase the timberland.

(24) The United States should forbid the manufacture and sale of tobacco products or the smoking of tobacco within the borders of the United States.

(25) America should adopt a policy of colonial expansion.

(26) The next president of the United States should be a woman.

(27) The presidents of the United States should during their incumbency abstain from the use of cigarettes or intoxicating beverages.

(28) Compulsory voting would be desirable.

(29) The Jews have fulfilled a more important mission in the world than have the Greeks.

(30) Woman is in every respect the equal of man.

(31) Government ownership of coal mines is desirable.

(32) Prohibition is desirable and should be retained.

(33) Civilization is a failure.

(34) On the whole, people were better off in the Middle Ages than they are today.

(35) The payment of politicians for their services is not in the best interests of the people.

(36) The policy of educating the whole community has done more harm than good.

(37) The world owes more to poets than to politicians.

(38) The limited monarchical system is better than the republican.

(39) The development of the cinema is a threat to the national welfare.

(40) The future belongs to the Pacific Ocean rather than to the Atlantic.

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CHAPTER IV

GATHERING MATERIAL

I. IMPORTANCE OF SYSTEM IN PREPARATION. II. PERSONAL INFORMATION AND REFLECTION. III. EXCHANGE OF OPINION. IV. SYSTEMATIC READING. V. CONSTRUCTION OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY. VI. METHODS OF TAKING NOTES. VII. REFLECTIVE THINKING

I. Importance of System in Preparation

Once you have selected your subject, your next step is to accumulate material upon which to base your argumentative speech. Where shall you find information? What type of material shall you seek? What methods shall you use in collecting it?

Beginners in discussion, when assigned to their subject, go straightway to the library, perhaps look vaguely around, ask the librarian, "Where can I find something on military training?" gather in a haphazard manner a few books and magazines that apparently contain articles vital to the subject, read voluminously, take copious, ill-digested, ill-assorted notes, and regard their preparation as more or less complete. The result is often vague thinking, nonassimilation of ideas, and — on the day of judgment — ineffective presentation.

The genuine debater or persuader, on the contrary, is like the genuine creator in any other mental enterprise. He proceeds with a definite method that gives him the maximum economy of time, minimum loss of mental energy in the grind of preparation, and in the end relatively effective public debate.

II. Personal Information and Reflection

The first step, before you rush to the library, is to sit down calmly and reflectively and examine your individual ideas in regard to the proposition. The subject given to you may be so

esoteric or complicated that your information and ideas concerning it seem blank. More often, however, you will find that your previous reading, observations, and experience have contributed a respectable body of facts and judgments concerning the issue. College athletes have been known to complain because they could "find no information in regard to the abandonment of intercollegiate athletics." Other students when confronted with such subjects as RESOLVED, *That coeducation is a failure*, neglect to consider their fund of personal information.

III. EXCHANGE OF OPINION

***A.* Informal Discussion.** In conjunction with your private thinking you will find social thinking of value. If you will casually introduce the debate subject to your roommate, for instance, you will find the dialogue most stimulating in crystallizing your point of view. Moreover, you will often have a considerable growth in knowledge and ideas.

***B.* Personal Interviews.** Like discussions, personal interviews with members of the faculty who are specialists concerning the particular economic or political problem under investigation, with business men, or with public officers who may have special knowledge of the subject will be well worth while. Your mood in the inquiry, however, should be that of a reporter rather than that of a cross-examiner. Sometimes it is better to postpone this particular plan of gathering points of view until you have enough information to construct in advance of the interview a series of rather definite and pertinent questions.

***C.* Personal Letters.** Similar to the personal interview is the letter to your congressman or other expert, in which you inquire for his opinion or for information. These letters, again, should be phrased with care and should not be mailed unless you are sure that these same facts cannot be gleaned from sources at hand. An authority should be spared the task of replying to you unless your letter to him is justified.

IV. Systematic Reading

***A.* Knowledge of the Library.** For the typical discussion on such topics as capital and labor, city government, socialism, and immigration the material must be drawn from newspapers and magazines, special documents, and books. For this purpose you must know how to use to the utmost the facilities of the school library or college library. What is the arrangement of the library and its system of classification? What is the plan by which the library catalogues and organizes the data on the cards? What is the general plan, or make-up, of books? What are the most important reference books? These and similar questions you must answer. Note whether the classification is according to the Dewey Decimal System. Examine the library catalogue and distinguish between outline cards, subject cards, and title cards. Attention to cross references is also essential if one seeks adequate information in a short time.

***B.* General References.** To begin preparation on a subject of current economic or political interest, the best plan is to get a bird's-eye view of the problem. General encyclopedias, such as *The Encyclopedia Americana*, Nelson's *Loose-Leaf Encyclopædia*, *The New International Yearbook*, *The Americana Annual*, *The Annual Register*, Appleton's *New Practical Cyclopedia*, *The New International Encyclopædia*, *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (British point of view), *The World Almanac*, and *The Everyman Encyclopedia*, may sometimes serve as a starting point. Here a definition or explanation and some historical background of the subject may be found.

***C.* Special Encyclopedias.** Special encyclopedias should next be consulted, such as Bliss and Binder's *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, *The American Yearbook* (1910–1919, 1926), *The World Almanac* (1868–), *The Statesman's Yearbook* (1864–), Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*. These general and

special sources are, moreover, valuable in many cases because of the accompanying bibliographies. Mudge's *New Guide to Reference Books*, as the name suggests, is an accurate and informative guide to sources. Consult also the series of catalogues printed by the American Library Association, *The American Library Association Catalog*, and *The American Library Association Book List.*

***D.* United States Government Documents.** The United States government reports are numerous and invaluable. The authors are usually specialists, and they are in a position to obtain accurate data. These authorities have been selected because of their ability to pass the civil-service examinations, or because their reputation has been established. Government documents are thus to be entitled to the highest rating as authority. Among the most important of these documents are the *United States Census Report*, which contains vital statistics, statistics on population, labor, and many other subjects; the *Statistical Abstract*; and many special reports. See the United States Bureau of Education bulletins (issued since 1906), and those of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; for example, the *United States Commerce Yearbook*, *Commerce Reports* (monthly survey). The *Congressional Documents* contain reports from the executive departments and the legislative committees. These reports are grouped as (1) *Senate Documents*, (2) *Senate Reports*, (3) *House Documents*, (4) *House Reports.*

For lists of government documents write to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.

***E.* Congressional Record.** Without question the chief government document and the most convenient one for reference is the *Congressional Record*, which gives complete debates on most of the questions of the day. It is so indexed that by looking under the names of congressmen, subjects, or names of bills you can readily locate definite topics. Debaters undoubtedly miss a mine of information when they fail to tap this source. Do you wish exhaustive discussions of foreign policies? regulation of railroads? education policies? radio regulation? many another practical

subject? The *Record* contains remarks on them all. College and school debates on the League of Nations, recognition of Russia, aviation, disarmament, tax reduction, and countless other subjects have been worked out largely by reference to this source.

F. **Private Publications reporting Government Proceedings.** An account of the official proceedings in Washington, including full reports of congressional debates, special committee reports, and special departmental and other reports, is contained in the *United States Daily*, a newspaper privately owned and published, and issued since March, 1926. This paper contains a weekly index and cumulative annual index. The *Congressional Digest*, a monthly, also privately owned, aims to accomplish a somewhat similar purpose.

G. **Biographical Information.** For biographical information the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Lippincott's *Biographical Dictionary*, *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, *Who's Who* (an English publication), *Who's Who in America*, and similar "Who's Who" books should be consulted.

H. **Authoritative Books.** A few general books are here suggested as typical of the preliminary reading that will be helpful.

1. *Economics.* A broad foundation for any economic subject can be secured by reading Taussig's *Principles of Economics*, Fetter's *Modern Economic Problems*, or Ely's *Outlines of Economics*. For example, Taussig, on the tariff, is quite worth while.

2. *Government.* In government problems the debater should consult Bryce's *American Commonwealth* and *Modern Democracies*, Woodrow Wilson's *The State* and *Congressional Government*, Chaffee's *Freedom of Speech*, Dickinson's *Causes of International War*, Lowell's *Public Opinion in War and Peace*, Wright's *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems*, Norman Angell's *Fruits of Victory*.

3. *Sociology.* If the field is sociology, read Dewey's *Human Nature and Conduct*, Ford's *Social Problems and Social Policy*, Ross's *The Social Trend*, Wolfe's *Readings in Social Problems*.

Such authoritative sources will give the student a general

background by which he may appraise with much greater ease the definite arguments involved.

I. **Publications of Societies with a Purpose.** Much valuable information may be secured from professional organizations, such as the American Association for International Conciliation, the American Federation of Labor, the American Bar Association, the Drama League of America, the National Education Association of the United States, and the Intercollegiate Socialist League. *The World Almanac* contains lists and addresses of such organizations. The *Public Information Service* is a bimonthly index of investigations in regard to court decisions, proceedings of international, national, and state organizations, and has a record of important legislation, state and national.

J. **Special Documents and Reports issued by Organizations.** Special documents are issued by state universities, civic organizations, and manufacturers' associations. For example, if you are debating the proposition RESOLVED, *That the American schools and colleges should abandon military training*, you will get much material by writing to the American Association Opposed to Force. Other well-known sources of this type are *Bulletin of the Association of American Professors*, *Bulletin of the American Institute of Banking*, *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, *National Research Council Bulletin*, League of Nations publications (for example, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and *Monthly Summary*).

K. **Magazines.** For a full understanding of the subject current events not recorded in any books must be taken into account. Periodical literature, especially that of recent months, will in some cases certainly form the backbone of the material. For periodicals before 1906 Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* (1802–1906) is standard. For more recent material the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* (1900–1904, 1905–1909, 1910–1914, 1915–1918, 1919–1921, 1922–1926, etc.) is indispensable. It is a cumulative index made up of (1) permanent cumulated volumes, (2) annual volumes, (3) monthly issues, cumulating

quarterly. The *Reader's Guide Supplement*, known now as the *International Index to Publications*, should also be consulted. See also special indexes, such as the *Agricultural Index, Industrial Arts Index, Engineering Index, Book Review Digest, Public Affairs Information Series*. The last mentioned is especially useful.

Source material for school and college debates may be found in such magazines as the following:

1. **Government, Law, and Current History.** *American Municipalities, The American Journal of International Law, The American Political Science Review, The Constitutional Review, Foreign Affairs, History, Harvard Law Review, Iowa Law Review* (also other law reviews), *The Journal of Political Economy, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, National Municipal Review, Political Science Quarterly, Public Administration, The American Review of Reviews, The Literary Digest, Current History Magazine of the New York Times.*

2. **Sociology.** *The American Journal of Sociology, Child Welfare Magazine, Journal of Genetics, The Journal of Applied Psychology, Social Forces, Sociological Review, The Graphic Survey.*

3. **Economics.** *The Annalist, American Federationist, The American Economic Review, The Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Commerce Monthly, Dun's Review, The Income Tax Review, Journal of Farm Economics, Nation's Business, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, The Tariff Review.*

4. **Education.** *The American Oxonian, The Collegiate World, Education, The Educational Review, School and Society, The English Journal, The Quarterly Journal of Speech.*

5. **Journals of Opinion.** *The Atlantic Monthly, Blackwood's Magazine, The Contemporary Review, The Century Magazine, The Dial, The English Review, The Fortnightly Review, The Forum, Harper's Magazine, The Independent, The Nation, The New Republic, The New Statesman, The Nineteenth Century and after, The North American Review, The Open Court, The Outlook, The Overland Monthly, Scribner's Magazine, The Yale Review.*

These lists are by no means exhaustive.

L. **Newspapers.** Newspaper information, unreliable and incomplete although it may be at times, is part of every up-to-the-minute discussion. For material in the newspaper files refer to the *New York Times Index*, which can be used as a date index. With the date as a guide, this index may be applied to any newspaper.

V. Construction of a Bibliography

A. **Sources of Bibliographies and Lists of References.** For a systematic and thorough review of the subject a bibliography as complete as possible will save an immense amount of time. The Library of Congress issues special bibliographical lists catalogued under "United States — Library of Congress." *The American Library Annual* contains a list of bibliographies published during the year in English and American books, bulletins, and pamphlets. Colleges and universities print such lists in connection with debates. The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh *Debate Index* refers to books containing bibliographies on debate questions. *The Debate Handbook Series*, the *Reference Shelf*, and the *University Debaters' Annual* (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York) have extensive bibliographies. See also Matson's *References for Literary Workers*, Shurter and Taylor's *Both Sides of a Hundred Public Questions*. Mudge's *Guide*, referred to above, is also highly recommended.

The American Catalogue of Books, 1876 to date, the *English Catalogue of Books*, 1801 to date, the *United States Catalogue of Books in Print in* 1912 (continued by the *Cumulative Book Index*), and the *Catalogue of the Library of Congress* will help you to locate every book, recent or otherwise, bearing on your subject.

B. **Sources of Material for Making Bibliographies.** In making a bibliography you will not overlook the entries on subject cards in the library catalogue, or the information obtained from following up the "See also" references, the lists appended to articles in the encyclopedias, and the bibliographies and footnote references on books on the subject.

These lists need to be supplemented by references of more recent date. In any case, if your bibliography is to be as up to date as it should be for working purposes, you will have to compile one of your own. For the first draft, cards or slips of paper will be necessary in order that the references may be assorted systematically. Books, special documents and reports, and periodicals should be grouped separately.

C. Data included in Bibliographical Notes. For books the customary method is to include the author's name and initials, the exact title of the book, the name of the publisher, the date and place of publication, and the number of the edition; thus:

SEASHORE, CARL E. *Introduction to Psychology.* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923.

The more definite reference by chapter or pages may be included. The entries may be arranged in two ways: by the authors, alphabetically, or by the subjects, alphabetically, with the authors arranged alphabetically under each topic heading. The first method is usually followed for books. Periodicals are often listed by title of magazine, volume and page, and, if possible, by the date, title of the article, and author's name and initials; for example:

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education, XII: 296–333. November, 1926. "The Vibrato in Speech." Giles Wilkinson Gray.

Before you begin the examination of the books, make the entries as complete as possible. In the lower right-hand corner put a letter or abbreviation to show where you got your information; for example, R. G., *Reader's Guide.* Indicate also on the card any note that will help you in your work, as, "Not in the library." If you have a large number of cards, use a filing box and alphabetical guide cards.

VI. METHODS OF TAKING NOTES

No part of the student's preparation is more often neglected than that of systematically recording the results of his reading. Hours and hours of labor would be saved if the investigator would only take notes according to some system. Too often he

relies heavily on his memory. Sadly confusing is the hasty jotting down on odd scraps of paper of ideas or facts without proper note of the source or even of the definite idea to be reëxamined.

The following suggestions for note-taking are recommended:

Use cards or sheets of paper of uniform size.

Place one fact or point upon each card.

Place at the top of the card the main issues or subjects to which the evidence refers.

Indicate at the bottom or the top of the card the exact source of the information.

Quote accurately from your sources and indicate omissions by means of dots: . . .

Note the following example, prepared for evidence on the proposition RESOLVED, *That Congress should establish a national department of education*:

Practicability. *Precedent for Federal Aid*

"The land act of 1785 provided for the survey of the Northwest Territory and set aside therein lot No. 16 in every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township. . . . The ordinance of 1787 declared that 'schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.'"

Report of House Committee on Education.
January 17, 1921, p. 11.
66th Congress, 3d Session, House Report 1201.
Serial Set, No. 7776.

The following is an example of evidence taken on the proposition RESOLVED, *That foreigners should abandon extraterritorial rights in China:*

Impracticability of abandonment. *Governmental Chaos*

"If twenty years ago it was impossible for Europeans to submit their persons and property to Chinese conceptions of law and justice, how much less can they do so today, when the last remnants of responsible government have disappeared in the North?"

J. O. P. Bland, "China; and Yet Again."
The Atlantic Monthly, 140:1006, July, 1927.

VII. Reflective Thinking

***A.* The Tendency to Eclecticism.** One of the besetting dangers of wide and specific reading in connection with the preparation of a debate lies in the wholesale appropriation and reproduction of the material. In these days when endless pamphlets, articles, reports, and interviews are swamping the reading public, it is not only possible but exceedingly easy to secure excellent ready-made arguments on most debatable subjects. The novice in debating, unable to withstand the temptation offered him by a rich array of arguments, in many cases succumbs. His argument as delivered becomes a series of echoes of some authoritative writer, or writers, on the subject. Usually the speaker gives credit to his sources, so that the debate becomes a piecing together of ideas, each prefaced by "Mr. So and So says," or "According to Mr. So and So," or "To quote Mr. So and So in the last number of *Century* magazine, p. 14," and so on. The process is eclectic, a dovetailing of authorities without the hazarding of a single personal opinion. In a few cases the student, regarding as his own whatever he finds, delivers, as his own, paragraph after paragraph from the *Congressional Record* or other sources without so much as giving credit. It should be added here that the disposition of some "coaches" to phrase the ideas for the debaters has contributed to the student's confusion concerning originality and plagiarism.

***B.* Proper Indication of Quotations.** Although exact rules which guarantee the prevention of plagiarism are impossible, teachers of debate and composition in general agree that any quotation of three or more words should be included within quotation marks, and that he who speaks the words of another must make clear to the audience that the statements are not his own.

***C.* Need for Assimilation of Material.** How, then, shall you preserve your own soul in a library rich in evidence and arguments for your case? The answer lies in the practice of *assimilation* of what you read. Your reading is not principally to the end that the fifty or more quotations on your cards may be strung

out one after the other in the form of a so-called speech, but rather that you may read reflectively and creatively. As Emerson says: "One must be an inventor to read well. As the proverb says, 'He that would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry out the wealth of the Indies.' There is then creative reading as well as creative writing. When the mind is braced by labor and invention, the page of whatever book we read becomes luminous with manifold allusion. Every sentence is doubly significant, and the sense of our author is as broad as the world." [1]

***D.* Methods of Assimilation of Material.** Emerson is thus suggesting to the debater that the latter should have in his own mind some independent conception of what the arguments are about and that each step in the reading is to be checked and related to these mental concepts. The results of such comparison are the rejection of some of the printed passages and the incorporation of others into the mind of the investigator. This process of mental rumination results in the clarifying, ordering, and interpreting that give the speech the undeniable stamp of originality. It becomes the expression of the debater's personality and as such is different from every similar argument under the sun.

Few debaters, especially young ones, are expected to be Shakespearean in their creative ability. Any school or college student who practices reflection and exercises mental judgment can produce thoroughly and originally developed arguments even on such voluminously discussed subjects as whether the government shall own the coal mines.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. How much dependence is to be placed on personal knowledge? interviews? letters?

2. Test your general knowledge in regard to a policy of permanent prohibition of immigration into the United States. Which side do you uphold? Why? Can you prove your case? Is your material exact knowledge, or is it largely conjecture?

[1] R. W. Emerson, "The American Scholar," in *Nature*.

3. If you were investigating the subject of municipal ownership of the local car lines, what persons would you interview?

4. Describe the kind of letter you would write to your congressman, asking his opinion about the tariff. Is it fair in debate to quote from personal letters?

5. What are the general regulations of your school library?

6. Compare the merits of the general encyclopedias in your library. Under what articles in an encyclopedia would you look for full information concerning the cabinet form of government in England? Should relatively much time be spent on encyclopedias, and should elaborate notes be taken from them?

7. Explain the merits of the ten most important special encyclopedias in your library.

8. Explain how to find a book in your library. What are obvious objections to reliance on the library staff for the books, or to reliance on an examination of the bookshelves?

9. Explain the system of classification of books in your library.

10. Prepare a bibliography of one hundred references on some proposition having to do with military preparedness or on the subject chosen for your original forensic. What topics did you consult in the general and special encyclopedias? in the *Reader's Guide*? Have you given the exact title of the article, the name of the writer, the magazine or other source, the date, volume, and page? Are your references sufficiently recent? Are any articles in your list out of date? Do your articles bear directly on the issues? If you have listed books, have you given the name of the author with initials, the exact title of the book, the number of volumes, the number of the edition, the date, the place of publication?

11. Explain the plan of *Who's Who*, *Who's Who in America*, and other "Who's Who" books.

12. Compare the following magazines as reliable sources of information and of sound opinion: *North American Review*, *Independent*, *Outlook*, *New Republic*, *Nation*, *Yale Review*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Time*, *World Today*. What do you think is the best monthly magazine of national and world affairs? the best weekly magazine? What papers and magazines do you read regularly? What periodicals, in your opinion, have the best editorials?

13. What are the various Congressional documents? How may material in the *Record* be found?

14. Where would you advise a student to go for material on industrial insurance? the honor system in colleges? pensions for teachers? Fascism? gasoline tax?

15. Compile a list of ten "societies with a purpose," with addresses; a list of six books on debating.

16. The student has thirty hours in which to do the reading and take notes for the organization of a brief on the subject RESOLVED, *That the United States should grant independence to the Philippines.* How much time should be spent on the encyclopedias? on the best books that deal entirely with the subject of Philippine independence? on books that have chapters on the subject? on the *Congressional Record*? on the magazines and newspapers?

17. Bring to class twelve cards containing evidence on the subject of the city-manager plan or on the subject chosen for your original forensic. Do the cards conform to the rules given above?

18. Read Bacon's essay "On Studies" and discuss in class proper and improper methods of reading.

19. What is originality? plagiarism?

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CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSITION

I. ANALYSIS IN GENERAL. II. PRINCIPLES OF PARTITION. III. MAIN ISSUES. IV. STEPS OF ANALYSIS FOR FINDING ISSUES. V. RELATION OF ANALYSIS TO THE INTRODUCTION

I. Analysis in General

***A.* Necessity for Analysis.** Suppose you were asked to present a debate on the subject so often discussed in school debates since 1920, Resolved, *That the United States should initiate a movement for the mutual cancellation of war debts.* Your first impulse, after you had done some desultory reading, would perhaps be to begin giving your reasons why or why not the United States should follow such an economic course. Perhaps as a champion of the negative you would cite the funding agreements entered into by the United States with Italy, with England, and with various other European countries. You would show that on the basis of these agreements payments would be easily effected by those countries without great detriment to themselves and without disastrous economic repercussions in our own industries.

You would also, no doubt, have something to say about the gradual recovery of France and about the ability of Germany to pay her reparations during the next fifty years. On the basis of echoes of foreign opinion which might break in on your line of logic you would also raise the question whether the political results of the collection of these foreign debts would not eventually work harm to our international leadership and to the promotion of world peace. These and many other major and minor arguments, especially if you were a diligent reader of the *Congressional Record* files, would in turn push themselves into the foreground of your thinking.

By and by, if you were methodical in your thinking, you would sit down quietly and ask yourself what, after all, would be the most relevant and important points to be stressed. "What," you would ask, "is to be proved?" Systematically, then, you would begin to line up the arguments for the cause of cancellation as well as of collection. In turn you would find yourself tracing the history of the war-debt discussion since November 11, 1918. You would list the sums owed to us by the various countries and then probably the total payments to us growing out of the funding agreements now in effect. This process of dividing your proposition into a series of subpropositions and of explaining your terms, setting forth the history, the contrasting arguments, the great questions involved, and a statement of the chief arguments to be advocated from your angle, is the process of *analysis*.

A headlong plunge into the argument without this preliminary survey may sometimes result satisfactorily; but if a rival debater knows his case and his audience, your risk of failure is great. The first step, therefore, is not to argue, but to analyze. Webster, Lincoln, Wilson, together with every wise and able platform, court-room, or legislative debater, have excelled in the art of analysis. Lincoln, as has often been noted, became one of America's foremost debaters partly because of his superior skill in lighting upon the inevitable questions involved in the discussion. If you have one month in which to prepare some complicated economic or social question, you will profitably spend at least one third of your time in mapping out clearly what is to be proved. In other words, you will fully analyze your subject.

***B.* Informal and Formal Analysis.** Analysis is of two classes, informal and formal. Informal analysis, sometimes called literary analysis, selects any one phase of the subject that appeals to the author and presents only that phase. In such a case the writer or speaker does not pretend to say all that he could say on his side of the case, or even all that may be regarded as important; but he emphasizes at least one idea which to him is significant, and he conveys his special message. Such literary analysis

is scattered through the works of Arnold, Huxley, Stevenson, Newman, Galsworthy, and Shaw.

Formal analysis, known as logical analysis, aims at a partition, or classification, which is complete. Its division and subdivision of material comprise a unified grouping of the material involved. Such formal analysis leads in turn to a synthesis, a putting together of the parts into the whole, without the loss of a single partition. Analysis and synthesis are thus complementary. It is chiefly the formal analysis, the basis of a forensic, a college or university debate, or a speech of advocacy, with which the students of this book are concerned, rather than the informal, or literary, type of subject division.

C. **Scope of Analysis.** A formal analysis usually includes a statement of the cause for discussion, the explanation of terms, the history of the proposition, a narrowing of the subject through a statement of the affirmative and negative, of the special issues, and of the chief points to be established. This last step is known as the partition. It has sometimes been remarked that any analysis involving such numerous and complicated steps is artificially complete and superfluous. In reply it should be said here that, as at every step in the process of preparation for debate and discussion, analysis if rightly handled becomes a practical basis for effective argument. This preliminary survey is followed, not for its own sake nor for the sake of demonstrating the cumbersome machinery of working up an argument, but rather for the definite end of yielding the necessary issues and points of controversy. Formal analysis, like other desirable processes, is to be regarded as a flexible method. The order of development discussed below may vary, and some of the steps may well be omitted. Certainly the complete analysis does not need to be taken over bodily into the introduction of the public speech.

D. **The Goal: Partition of the Subject.** The goal of the analysis is the partition of the subject, or the discovery and formulation of the points or contentions to be established or defended. However complicated your dissection of the subject may be, it has a

clear, definite outcome; that is, the statement of the ground of controversy. The proposition RESOLVED, *That the rules of the United States Senate should be revised according to the Dawes Plan* yields the following outstanding points to be established by the affirmative: first, the present method of limitation of debate is a cumbersome, inefficient process; secondly, the Dawes proposal for a simple majority cloture rule is inherently sound; thirdly, the alternative reform, which proposes leaving open the closing date of the congressional session, would be ineffective. The proposition RESOLVED, *That war except in cases of invasion or internal rebellion should be declared by a direct vote of the people* would probably result in the following contentions for the affirmative: first, a declaration of war by the people is practical in its achievement; secondly, it is an added step in the growth of democratic government; thirdly, it would tend to remove the influence of private and corporate interests in the decision; fourthly, it would compel careful consideration before action; fifthly, public opinion is coming rapidly to condemn war. The negative, on the other hand, would probably contend, first, declaration of war by trained representatives is superior to the vote of the populace; secondly, the practical operation of this representative system has justified its use; thirdly, Congress has wisely exercised this power to declare war; fourthly, the declaration of war by the people would jeopardize national safety.

***E.* Analysis and the Audience.** The survey of analysis is in the end a survey of *what must be shown to a specific audience* in order to gain the audience response. Accordingly the partition must be worked out and the proof surveyed from the point of view of the group. "Practicability" looms large with one audience; "justice" may become the keyword in another instance, as it did when President Wilson delivered his war-time appeals for national support against Germany. No machinery can be evolved for analysis which will fit all cases, because the selection and emphasis depend so largely on those factors which the given audience may consider important.

II. Principles of Partition

This division, or partition, of the subject is based on several principles, the application of which helps the debater to achieve clearness, relevancy, and economy in his analysis.

***A.* Subdivision by One Principle Only.** The proposition must be separated into its subpropositions according to one principle only. For example, in a proposition of fact the principal subdivisions may be suggested by a classification of evidence. The proposition Resolved, *That the results of the World War have tended toward the peace of the world*, a proposition of fact, will lead to the following: first, the results of the World War have promoted world-wide militarism; secondly, the results of the World War have increased the economic imperialism of the great nations; thirdly, the results of the World War have fostered international hatred; fourthly, the results of the World War have weakened democracy, the great ally of peace; fifthly, the results of the World War have increased the spirit of nationalism.

A question of policy may be worked out on the principle of causal relations. Resolved, *That the United States government should create a commission empowered to supervise and control the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce* may be analyzed into the following partition: first, the evils of the present system demand a change, for overdevelopment causes increased production costs and labor difficulties, the wasteful operating policy makes conservation of coal impossible, and the excessive number of wholesalers causes wasteful duplication of effort and increased cost (an analysis of causes leading to the proposal); secondly, government control is the only feasible and logical remedy, for private control has failed, state control would be inadequate, government control is efficient, and it will remedy the abuses now inherent in the industry (an analysis of the effects of the proposal).

***B.* No Overlapping.** The subdivisions of the proposition should not overlap. In an intercollegiate debate in 1923 on the subject Resolved, *That this assembly approves the French occupation of the*

Ruhr valley the negative advocated the following main contentions: first, the occupation of the Ruhr is illegal under the Treaty of Versailles; secondly, a better policy would be to create an imperial international commission by which to determine Germany's capacity to pay; thirdly, the occupation has been objectionable to France politically; fourthly, the occupation has been disastrous to France economically; fifthly, the occupation will prove economically disastrous to Germany; sixthly, occupation will have a bad effect upon France; seventhly, occupation will prove economically disastrous to Europe. Although those who listened were no doubt impressed by the individual arguments, the critics were able to point out the overlapping of arguments as demonstrated by the sixth contention, "the bad effect upon France," which had already been included in the third and fourth contentions, "the occupation has been objectionable to France politically" and "has been disastrous to France economically." Contention seven, "the occupation will prove economically disastrous to Europe," also was an overlapping of the economic topic as already discussed in its relation to Germany and to France.

C. **Entire Field Covered.** The subdivisions should together cover satisfactorily the field of the subject. The actual debate as delivered may, because of the limited time, permit only a partial presentation of the subject. The analysis, nevertheless, must be thorough enough to bring out every main contention. An affirmative debate may be rightly condemned by a critic-judge if that debate ignores a section of the field properly a part of the subject. For example, an intercollegiate debate team in discussing the proposition, RESOLVED, *That the United States should initiate a movement for the cancellation of the interallied war debts*, limited its contentions to the theoretical considerations and, although admitting that the American people and American Congress would in fact prevent such initiation, argued that this nation *should* do so. The critic-judge ruled that the proposition called for a discussion of the practical point "Initiation of the movement by the United States can be effected."

***D.* Scope of One Subproposition.** No one subproposition should be equal to the whole subject. The force of this rule is apparent. Beginners in debate, in their effort to size up quickly what is to be proved, disregard it. One debate on the statement RESOLVED, *That the Federal Constitution should be amended, granting to Congress the exclusive power to enact uniform marriage and divorce laws in the United States*, set out to establish the following:

1. Uniform marriage and divorce laws are necessary.
2. Uniform marriage and divorce laws are feasible.
3. The Constitution should be amended to grant to Congress the exclusive power to enact uniform marriage and divorce laws.

The third point had been better stated, "A desirable plan can be formulated which will put into operation the necessary uniform marriage and divorce laws."

III. MAIN ISSUES

***A.* Explanation of Main Issues.** How shall you select those definite contentions, logically related to the subject and to each other, mutually exclusive, comprehensive, and yet so framed that one subdivision does not equal the whole? An indispensable step to the selection of these contentions is that of discovering the main issues. The main, or primary, issues are the fundamental questions, the answers to which determine the truth or falsity of the proposition. Every controversial subject expresses a division of opinion. Those who support the assertion represent a single point of view; those who disagree, another. Of course those who thus question the position of the affirmative may not coincide concerning the ground of their objections. In a question of fact various opposing stands may be taken by those who challenge one or another of the affirmative lines of evidence. In a question of policy, alternatives of various kinds may be offered by advocates of the negative. Thus the opposers of the motion may represent a dozen shades of opinion. Nevertheless a real gulf separates the supporters of the motion from the opposers.

The question therefore arises, What are these differences that account for the gulf? An analysis of these conflicting shades of opinion discloses in every case a few major questions, called the *primary*, or *chief*, or *main* issues. In the proposition cited above on the marriage and divorce laws a review of the various points of view raises the number of specific questions:

1. Are marriage and divorce laws necessary?

2. Can a desirable plan be formulated to put into operation uniform marriage and divorce laws?

3. Will uniform marriage and divorce laws remove the evils caused by state regulation of marriage and divorce?

4. Will uniform marriage and divorce laws make reform in marriage and divorce regulation effective?

Every debate or argumentative speech has inherent in it analogous important questions, which may be called the *potential* issues, to which the affirmative answer "yes" and to one at least of which the negative must answer "no." To speak of affirmative or negative issues is to confuse issues with the partition of the subject. Issues are always in the form of disinterested questions.

***B.* Relation of the Issues to the Partition.** The contentions or the partition or the main divisions are the answers to the issues. If you have analyzed carefully, you are bound to bring to light the great questions. You do not indicate your own attitude in the discussion until you answer these questions by an enumeration of the chief ideas which you intend to present or defend.

Like the partition, the issues must be relevant to the subject, mutually exclusive, all-inclusive, and comprehensive. It will thus be comparatively easy for you on the basis of these issues to state the contentions. Main issues will suggest main contentions; subordinate issues will suggest subordinate contentions. In actual discussion or debate you may select only those which best suit your need. Any complete discussion of the affirmative, as I have said above, will include each of these contentions, and in so doing will bring to light all the significant arguments. To illustrate, if you examine the proposition RESOLVED, *That*

members of the president's cabinet should take part in the deliberations of Congress, Senate and House, you would presently formulate the issue "Is the direct participation of the members of the president's cabinet in the deliberations of Congress necessary?" Secondary issues would disclose themselves, such as "Would the proposal secure greater efficiency and economy in government?" and "Would the plan secure wiser and more wholesome legislation?"

As an advocate of the proposition you would answer the questions above by stating the following as your point: "The direct participation of members of the president's cabinet in the deliberations of Congress is necessary." In the same way you would secure your subpropositions by answering the questions stated in the secondary issues above.

Other illustrations of the statement of issues and contentions may be noted. RESOLVED, *That the proposed amendment to the Constitution in reference to child labor should be adopted* raises the following questions:

1. Is child labor a national menace?
2. Does this national menace demand a national remedy?
3. Would the proposed amendment give Congress ample power to deal with the situation?

The contentions established might be as follows:

1. Child labor is not confined to any one state or locality.
2. Investigation has shown an alarming increase in the amount of child labor.
3. Child labor is a menace to the future citizenry of both state and nation.
4. The states have failed to remedy this evil in the past.
5. A national remedy would be most effective.
6. The proposal gives Congress ample power to deal with the situation.

It will be noticed in this example that three issues have produced six contentions. These specific statements to be proved by the affirmative are really the answers to the subissues, which did

not happen to be stated above. A simpler statement of the case as presented by the affirmative would be merely an enumeration of three declarative sentences corresponding to the three interrogations above.

***C.* Importance of Discovering and Stating the Main Issues.** Only by bringing to light these all-important questions, or issues, can you have a satisfactory discussion. To talk or write at length without reference to these issues is to confuse the hearer or reader, to present an argument lacking in unity, coherence, or force, and to fail in securing the proper audience response. The very clearness resulting from keeping in the foreground the great questions is a long step toward the successful end.

***D.* Number and Arrangement of the Issues.** These impartial, basic questions will be at least two — otherwise the subject would not be divided — and may number four or five. A large number would mean usually a failure to classify the points under inclusive headings. These questions should be arranged in climactic order. The arrangement here, as in other types of composition, will be governed by principles of coherence and emphasis. In the first instance order or logical sequence of ideas should control; if possible, however, the most striking argument and issue should be presented last. The issues should of course be enumerated in the order in which they are to be developed.

***E.* Use of Stock Issues.** A specific means for helping you to line up these opinions or arguments is suggested by the application of a series of stock questions, or stock issues. Let us assume that your question is one of policy. The inquirer, when he confronts your proposition, instinctively asks, "Why this proposal?" and "What is the effect of the proposal?" A formula, therefore, for discovering these arguments grows out of the mental habit of thinking of the problems in terms of causes and effects. The queries "What is the cause?" and "What is the effect?" give rise to such questions as the following:

1. What are the reasons for the agitation? Are present conditions satisfactory? Are there defects in the present plan or insti-

tution? Do evils exist? Has the present policy or institution outlived its usefulness?

2. What would be the political, social, or economic advantages of the change? Would present objections be removed? Would other positive benefits result?

3. Is the plan practicable? Are there barriers — political, legal, or financial — to its establishment? Has it succeeded in operation? Is it the best remedy?

4. Is the proposal just and sound in principle?

Such questions as these, artificial and mechanical though they are, overlapping as they do, will often furnish a start for the investigator. As issues in themselves they are inadequate; they may be incomplete or too general, and they may apply only to questions of public policy. Rightly used, however, they are of much practical help. For example, suppose these issues are applied to the proposition RESOLVED, *That the United States government should create a commission empowered to supervise and control the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce.* The questions would be somewhat as follows:

1. Are there defects in the coal industry as now organized that make it economically unsound? Is there overexpansion of the coal industry? Are the mines operated irregularly? Is there excessive productive capacity of the mines? Has the cost of coal increased because of the overhead expenses of an idle period? Are labor difficulties unduly numerous, resulting in social maladjustments? Is there a wasteful operating policy? Does the coal as mined pass through the hands of an excessive number of middlemen?

2. Would the establishment of Federal regulation be advantageous? Would it remedy the evils of overdevelopment? of distribution? of labor difficulties?

3. Is the plan of establishing a commission charged with the duty of fact-finding and licensing a practical one? Would public opinion support the policy? Would Federal regulation be marked by inefficient administration and increased cost? Have past busi-

ness ventures of the government been costly? Can state control solve the problem? Would government ownership be preferable to government regulation?

4. Would the plan be American in principle? Would the proposed system be an unwarranted restriction upon the powers of a sovereign state?

For a question of fact the matter of stock issues is probably more complicated. Here the formula would grow out of a study of the specific types of evidence involved in the case. For example, such questions might be raised as the following:

1. Do prior facts prove the existence of the alleged fact? [1]
2. Do subsequent facts indicate the existence of the alleged fact?
3. Do specific instances indicate the existence of the alleged fact?
4. Do analogous cases prove the existence of the alleged fact?
5. Do authorities testify to the existence of the alleged fact?

The questions given above are intended merely to show the possible lines of argument. Such questions are merely formulas, but within the limits they may be of considerable practical help. Like the stock issues for questions of policy, those of questions of fact need to be translated into concrete questions directly applicable to the specific problem under discussion. For example, the formula above might be directly applied to such a question as RESOLVED, *That in our solar system a planet with an orbit beyond that of Neptune exists.* The formula, therefore, would raise the question as to whether argument from authority, from generalization, from cause to effect, from effect to cause, and from analogy would prove the wisdom or weakness of the policy.

Note how the formula would be applied to such a proposition as RESOLVED, *That the results of the World War tend toward the peace of the world.* What kind of results are to be considered — economic, social, political, physical, intellectual, or moral? Your further questioning will lead you to raise specific points concerning the political, economic, and military effects. Such definite

[1] Cf. W. C. Shaw, *The Art of Debate*, p. 61. Allyn and Bacon, 1922.

questions and such definite arguments will begin to emerge as Have the results of the World War increased the spirit of nationalism among European nations? Has Italy developed a spirit of undue militarism? The affirmative answer to these questions will yield a list of affirmative arguments, and the negative reply an equally robust number of negative contentions. The real value of these formulas, whether they apply to questions of fact or to questions of policy, is that they lead to a systematic and thorough canvassing of possible types of arguments.

IV. Steps of Analysis for Finding Issues

Although no precise formula can be worked out which will guarantee in every case the discovery of the inevitable issues, yet the process of analysis recommended by so many rhetoricians and students of debate is of great value. These steps include the cause for the discussion, the history of the question, the definition of terms, a statement of the exact limits of the subject, and a comparison of the affirmative and negative arguments.

***A.* Cause for Discussion.** The starting point in analysis is usually a consideration of the occasion for the discussion, described in some textbooks as "the origin of the question." At the outset we ask: "Why are we interested in this subject? Why is it timely for a magazine article or a debate? What recent events or conditions have brought the matter before the public?" This line of inquiry will not only explain the appeal that this question makes to the public but will bring to light some understanding of what is involved in proof requirements.

Most formal discussions originate because public policy leads to agitation of the proposition or some recent event brings the problem sharply before the people. Resolved, *That the United States should join the League of Nations* waxed popular as a subject before American audiences in the days of 1919; but by 1925 interest in it had waned, not only because the public had become bored with the threadbare arguments concerning America's

entry but also because America through her inaction had made this problem, at least for the time, obsolete. After President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes had advocated that the United States enter the World Court, this question too became the subject for hundreds, even thousands, of high-school, college, radio, and other debates. By 1927, however, the World Court had gone into the discard as a subject for debate. In the same way the question RESOLVED, *That the powers of the Supreme Court should be limited by the recall of judicial decisions* was threshed out with great vigor between 1912 and 1914, after the Progressive party of 1912 (or rather Mr. Roosevelt) had pronounced on the subject; then it again became a widely discussed topic in connection with the La Follette campaign of 1924. Why did so many school debates in 1925, 1926, and 1927 consider whether the cloture rule of the United States Senate should be revised to limit debate? Because an aggressive vice president traveled up and down the land dramatizing this issue. What is the timeliness, or justification, or popular interest in such queries as *Is the power of the American press on the whole detrimental to the community? Should capital punishment in the United States be prohibited by law? Should this House condemn anti-evolution legislation?* These and similar questions that swept the land were chiefly associated with such passing events as some murder case or the Tennessee evolution controversies between Bryan and Darrow.

***B.* History of the Question.** Closely associated with the origin of the question is the history of the institutions involved in the controversy. In the analysis of the proposition RESOLVED, *That the immigration law of 1924 should be amended to admit Japanese on the same basis as Europeans* it would be advisable in 1927, 1928, or 1929 to explain why the question should be alive and to outline the history of Japanese-American relations. The high lights in the history of these relationships would include the visit of Commodore Perry and the subsequent treaty, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the gentlemen's agreement with Japan in 1907, the immigration law of 1917 which barred certain Asiatic

peoples, and the law of 1924 which limited European immigration further and which excluded the Japanese.

Information concerning the history of the question will serve well in both the introduction and the argument. The history, of course, need not be an accumulation without discrimination of major and minor facts. Only the significant events, those accounting for the evolution and present status of the institution, are worth while. The history, therefore, should be relevant, selective, comprehensive, and up to date. To stop short of the most recent events is fatal to good analysis or good debate. A complete history of the Monroe Doctrine must certainly set forth the exact situation which led to the passage of President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823. This chronicle should also include such acts having to do with the ending of the World War, the terms of peace, the status of the League of Nations and of the World Court, the more recent disturbances in Mexico, Nicaragua, and other Latin-American countries as would have a bearing on the problem.

Consider the history of the question RESOLVED, *That the Congress of the United States should enact legislation for the establishment of a national department of education.* You should be sure in this case to carry your history back to the beginning, when, after the establishment of the Department of Agriculture by Congress in 1862, a movement was started for the establishment of a department of education. Other items that should be included would be (1) the creation of a department of education in 1866; (2) the reduction of this department to the rank of a bureau in the Department of the Interior after 1868; (3) the Smith-Towner education bill of May, 1919; (4) the Towner-Sterling bill of 1921; (5) the Reed-Sterling bill of 1923; (6) the Reed-Curtis bill of 1925; (7) any subsequent bills which would bring the history of this case down to the minute.

To summarize, the history should be reasonably full, the facts should be pertinent to the discussion, and the material should include both the early and the most recent events touching the institution involved in the proposition.

C. Explanation of Terms. Just as you will understand much more clearly the chief points of discussion in the question if you get a historical background, so will you be able to state with much greater accuracy the issues and the partition of the subject if you understand the meaning of the terms. By proper definitions the debater rules out irrelevant proof and focuses the discussion upon specific points that enable a reader or a hearer to see where a debate begins and where it ends. Once definitions are exactly stated, the fog lifts and the controversy makes progress.

Any term about the meaning of which there is likely to arise difference of opinion must be made clear. If we discuss *The limitation of enrollment in American colleges and universities by means other than by raising the scholarship standards for entrance is justified*, we must make clear what is meant by *by raising the scholarship standards for entrance*. *Socialistic control offers a remedy for the present social unrest* calls for an explanation of *socialistic control*. Two American universities, recently debating the statement RESOLVED, *That education is the curse of the age*, seemed to lead the audience nowhere because of their failure to make clear to anybody what was meant by *education* or by *the curse of the age*. All general, abstract, technical, or unfamiliar terms need to be straightened out.

The problem of defining terms, although interesting, is exceedingly difficult. It is well for the debater to be familiar with the technical process of the definition as that process has been described in many a book of logic. Suppose we attempt a description of the word *education*. *Education* is the *act or process of developing and cultivating mentally and morally by systematic instruction*. This process consists of establishing the broadest boundaries of the meaning of the term, then including only what the term specifies, and finally excluding other associated meanings. It is the process of describing the general idea, the genus, and the differentia. Such logical definitions require, first, that everything which does not belong to the class shall be excluded

from the class; secondly, that all that does belong to the class shall be included in the class; thirdly, that the definition shall be expressed in terms that are simpler and more familiar than the term defined; fourthly, that the definition does not introduce any derivative of the term to be defined.

Clear and plausible definitions that will withstand careful examination are usually the result of more than casual reference to a dictionary. Rather they represent wide reading on the subject and technical weighing of the terms. Dictionary definitions are inadequate because they are often too general; because the terms are often to be defined only by reference to current situations; because the terms to be defined are frequently composed of two or more words; and because the correct interpretation may depend on the context. Dictionaries are of little help in defining such terms as "World Court," "Huber Unemployment Act," "the California criminal-syndicalism law." Specific aids that may well supplement the dictionary are definition by authority; by etymology; by example, analogy, or comparison; by negation; by explication.

1. *Definition by Authority.* One of the most common methods of definition is by authority. Although a dictionary statement is of little value, the explanation of the term as given by some recognized specialist in that particular field is helpful both in making clear the real meaning and in making that meaning impressive to the reader or hearer.

The following introduction to a discussion on the abolition of war illustrates the method of defining war by authority:

> It is common to call war the "use of force," a euphemism that lends itself to confusion and error. Euphemism is one of the devil's cleverest devices. Even the word "war" is somewhat euphemistic, such are its associations with noble ideals, as honor, self-sacrifice, courage. Always to call war specifically what it is would go a long way toward abolishing the ghastly thing. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead defines it thus: "War is the deliberate, organized effort of one group of human beings to kill another group of human beings." The Russian sociologist, Novikov,

whose writings on war thoroughly exposed the mistake of the traditional view, still widely held, that war is sometimes beneficial, defined it briefly and precisely as "collective homicide"![1]

2. *Definition by Etymology.* The method of definition by etymology consists of explaining the meaning of a term by showing its original meaning and its history. To illustrate, *sabotage* might be explained as coming from an old French term meaning a "wooden shoe" and later applied to the deliberate and systematic slumping of one's work to anger an employer. Similarly a *fellow* is a "fee-layer" — a partner, a man who lays his fee, or property, beside yours.

3. *Definition by Example, Analogy, or Comparison.* One of the most effective ways to define is to illustrate. Such method is effective because vivid and clear. The illustration may be an example, an analogous case, or a contrasted case. In a discussion on the proposition RESOLVED, *That the rules of the Senate be revised as suggested by Vice President Dawes* the following explanation uses effectively definition by analogy and by example:

To bring it right home to you, let me explain to you, in a personal way, how the plan of cloture for the Senate which Mr. Dawes advocates differs from that which prevails there at present. You are all members of some organization — your literary society, your lodge, your farm club, your church, your young people's society. Now, as you know, such an organization holds a business meeting once in a while — called a deliberative meeting in the parlance of parliamentary procedure. Now, if in such a meeting you were governed by the present Senate rules, it would be possible for any member of the organization to stand up and talk just as long as he wanted to on any motion that was brought before the house. In fact, he would not have to talk straight to the point all the time, either. He could start off by making it appear that he was going to talk about a certain point involved in the motion, and then he could say or read anything that he pleased. He could recite poetry, or read a novel, or give a lot of dry statistics from some departmental report a hundred years old. He could do any-

[1] H. W. Pinkham, "War and the Canons of Force," *The Libertarian*, February, 1926.

thing he pleased to kill time, and the rest of the members would have to let him keep right on for at least two days and perhaps much longer unless they could get two-thirds of the members together to put through a device for stopping him. Of course, you would not all have to listen to him, for you could go out and eat and sleep and do anything you pleased. But, in the meeting, that member would have the floor and nobody could take it away from him.[1]

4. *Definition by Negation.* The method of definition by negation explains the meaning of a term by describing what it does not mean. A word is distinguished from its synonyms; meanings wrongly associated with it are ruled out. For example, a college team, in analyzing the proposition RESOLVED, *That the United States adopt a policy of more definite interference in Mexican affairs*, explained that "by *interference* is meant not annexation of Mexico, not forcible control of that country amounting to a protectorate relationship, but rather a policy of definite, economic control."

5. *Definition by Explication.* The method of explication expounds the essential characteristics of the term. This explanation may include a logical description of the origin, growth, operation, and purpose of the term. This style of defining is the normal one in school debates. Sometimes, when only details are needlessly enumerated, the method is carried to excess. At other times the method is only vaguely carried out, leaving the reader or listener almost as much confused as at the outset.

The following is an illustration of definition by explication: "The question is, RESOLVED, *That the centralization of power in the Federal government is desirable.* Centralization of power is the transfer of power from state to Federal government either by process of amendment or by the exercise of power, under certain general provisions of the Constitution contained in Article I, Section 3, where Congress among other things is given power to provide for the general welfare of the people of the United States and in amendment ten where powers not specifically delegated in

[1] *University Debaters' Annual* (1925–1926), p. 13. Reprinted by permission of The H. W. Wilson Company.

the Constitution are reserved to the states or to the people." The proposition RESOLVED, *That war should be declared by direct vote of the people* led to an explanation of two kinds of war, offensive and defensive, and to an explanation also as to what this direct vote of the people involved. The proposition RESOLVED, *That the national prohibition act in Title Two, Section 1, should be amended to define intoxicating liquors as those containing 2.75 per cent or more of alcohol by volume* was defined as follows: "The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution says that the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States and all territory subject to jurisdiction thereof is prohibited. The Volstead Act in Title Two, Section 1, defines intoxicating liquors as those 'containing one half of 1 per cent or more of alcohol by volume.' By intoxication we mean the stage wherein a man loses control of himself, that is, the stage of inebriety, or drunkenness."

D. **Contrast of Arguments.** This process of finding the occasion for discussion, the history, and definitions will help to bring forth the issues. In addition, a direct comparison of the affirmative and negative arguments, or clash of opinion, will aid in finding the chief questions. Your problem is, by means of your reading and discussion, to make a complete list of the major and minor arguments for the other side as well as for your own. These arguments should be arranged in parallel columns, in order that the contrast may be sharp and clear.

The contrasted arguments for the proposition RESOLVED, *That the Federal Constitution should be amended, granting to Congress the exclusive power to enact uniform marriage and divorce laws in the United States,* are thus arranged:

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS	NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS
I. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws are necessary.	I. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws are unnecessary.
A. The marriageable age differs in different states.	*A.* The differences among states regarding marriageable age are slight.

B. States lack penalties to enforce laws.
C. Laws for divorce differ and may be evaded.

II. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws are desirable.
A. They will remove the evils caused by state regulation.
B. They will eliminate chance for evasion of the law.
C. They will lead to respect for the law.

III. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws can be formulated and applied with success.
A. Concurrent enforcement of such laws would be effective.

B. The migratory divorce is not a serious evil.
C. Legal entanglements are not a serious evil.

II. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws are undesirable.
A. Many states have passed progressive legislation, as eugenics laws.
B. Public opinion is opposed.

III. Uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws are impracticable.
A. Enforcement by Federal courts alone would be ineffective.
B. Enforcement by state courts alone would be ineffective.
C. Concurrent enforcement of such laws would be ineffective.

***E.* Narrowing the Field of Discussion.** After the arguments have been carefully compared, the next step is that of reducing this conflict of opinion by the exclusion of irrelevant, of trivial, and of admitted material. Straightforward discussion will more likely result if the attention of the reader or listener is called to the limits of the discussion and to arguments which an opponent might present but which do not touch the specific issue. The debater will gain too if he frankly admits the importance of other opposing arguments likely to be raised. This step is really anticipatory rebuttal. If these matters to be conceded are judicially weighed with appreciation of the full effect of these admissions, then the constructive case is undoubtedly strengthened.

A congressional speech in support of the Volstead Act was strengthened and the real issues made more pronounced by

the frank admissions of the speaker that the law had not been enforced:

I concede that the law has not been enforced as it should have been. Speaking generally, it has been enforced in a very indifferent manner, though in some localities it has been properly enforced. Much indiscretion has been shown in the carrying out of the law, and much crime has been committed in its name. The sacredness of home and privacy of person has often been outraged, peaceable and law-abiding people, men, women, and children, have been subject to the greatest kind of indignities by agents of the law. The whole prohibition force has unfortunately been flavored with an element wholly unfit from every standpoint for the discharge of the duties that have been placed upon them. These lawless methods of enforcement sometimes employed by the agents of the law — with which we are more or less familiar — have been responsible for much of prejudice that we find against the law, and it is senseless to deny that some prejudice does actually exist, and it is not entirely confined to the lawless class of our people or to those ignorant of our traditions or indifferent to our destiny, for many patriotic and right-intentioned people favor repeal, and we get nowhere in impugning their motives or in questioning their loyalty.

Now, upon the subject of prohibition generally I would like to say that I do not by any means subscribe to all that is contended for by the drys, for much that some say is simple and foolish. Neither do I subscribe to much that is contended for by the advocates of repeal or modification, for the greater part of what they say is grossly exaggerated, if not entirely without foundation in fact. I do not believe that the prohibition law is responsible for all that is good in the land. Neither do I believe that it is responsible for all that is bad. In my opinion, based upon experience and study, it is responsible for a great deal that is good and for very little that is bad.

In discussing this subject we should be appreciative of our responsibility to the people of the country to give them the truth as we find it, uncorrupted by prejudice, but this the wets have not shown a willingness to do." [1]

[1] Representative E. E. Cox in the House of Representatives, April 27, 1926.

V. Relation of Analysis to the Introduction

The work of analysis, it should be kept in mind, is largely expository. The complete argument includes introduction, argument proper, and conclusion. Direct discussion should be left for the proper section. This analysis, mainly for the benefit of the debater himself, should be reasonably free from partisanship or prejudice.

***A.* Analysis and the Editorial.** Is it an editorial or a magazine article? Then the introduction is informal and brief or almost entirely wanting.

***B.* Analysis and an Argumentative Speech.** In an argumentative speech the same informality, discursiveness, and apparent incompleteness of analysis may appear.

Note the following introduction, which limits itself to a literary history of education and leads swiftly to an indictment of our present university educational system:

MAMMON, A.B.[1]

Far in the shadowy past, tradition has it, men came to college to learn to live. Withdrawing temporarily from the bustling world of affairs, in quiet seclusion they sought the beautiful. Unhurried contemplation of the masters, mature consideration of the world's greatest problems, complete assimilation of the secrets of the ancients occupied four tranquil years. At the close of this period, secure in the knowledge with which to meet life, they emerged from the chrysalis of the college. So Emerson was taught, and Phillips and Beecher and Brooks, and all the rest of that stately company whose attainments we delight to praise. Of technical knowledge they had little but their deeds bear witness to the worth of their learning.

But the passing years have wrought great change. Today, jostling throngs clamor at the gates of our colleges, imperiously demanding entrance, thunderously denouncing those who would exclude them. And what do they ask of these institutions? Not beauty nor truth nor good for their own sakes, but the skill with which to store up riches, a practical education.

[1] Northern Oratorical League oration delivered by Charles B. Nutting, University of Iowa, at the University of Wisconsin, 1926.

C. **Analysis and a Forensic.** In a student forensic, a written or spoken debate in which the speaker or writer develops the entire argument for one side, including the introduction or analysis, every possible step of analysis is included. The typical forensic, a formal composition, develops in succession (1) occasion for discussion; (2) history of the case; (3) definition of terms; (4) contrasted arguments; (5) narrowing of the question through a statement of excluded, admitted, and waived material; (6) the main issues; (7) a partition of the subject, or enumeration of points to be proved.

D. **Analysis and Oral Debate.** In oral debate the conventional introduction usually includes (1) a brief statement for the cause of the discussion and history of the question; (2) an explanation of terms; (3) a statement of admitted or waived matter; (4) a statement of issues or of what the speaker intends to prove. In recent days the effort of debaters to get away from the highly mechanical methods of analysis has led to an abandonment of almost every feature of the stereotyped introduction. More emphasis is put upon the approach to the audience and upon the persuasive elements of the introduction than upon the logical features. Any formal step, such as history or definitions, is to be used only if it has value in holding attention, and that value must be made apparent.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Bring to class a list of six school or university matters under discussion; six important national questions; six questions for classroom discussion; six questions for intercollegiate debate. Be prepared to explain why each is of timely interest.

2. Give the history (two hundred words each) of each of the following: (1) Congress should enact legislation providing for the compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes on interstate railroads. (2) Employers should abandon the principle of the open shop. (3) Greek-letter secret fraternities should be discontinued in American schools (or colleges).

3. Name the best authorities for defining each of the following: regulation of interstate commerce; price maintenance; monopoly; freedom of the seas; "open door" in China.

4. Define the terms in the propositions listed under Exercise 2.

5. Hand in an example of definition by authority; by etymology; by negation; by example; by explication.

6. Formulate propositions on (1) college scholarships; (2) chapel attendance; (3) laboratory fees; (4) library rules; (5) the examination system; (6) local street-car service; (7) preparedness; (8) political parties in the United States; (9) Canadian and Mexican immigration into the United States; (10) Federal regulation of the radio; (11) trans-Atlantic air service. Apply the stock questions for determining issues. Make the issues as concrete as possible.

7. If you were on the negative of one of the propositions framed according to Exercise 6, what issues would you admit? Can the affirmative admit an issue and yet win the debate?

8. Give the complete steps of analysis of an original proposition approved by the instructor.

9. On the basis of Exercise 8 write a complete introduction for a debate to be delivered before a school or college audience.

10. Criticize your introduction by applying the following questions:

a. What is the immediate cause for discussion? Is it definitely stated? Is it too long? Does it state the facts of the situation?

b. Is the history confused with the cause for discussion? Is the history too long? too short? Does it introduce unnecessary material for an understanding of the subject? Does it give unnecessary information in regard to the early history of the institution? Does it include the facts of current importance? Is it cumbersome and artificial? prejudiced?

c. Are the terms properly defined? What methods of definition are used? Are these methods adequate?

d. Are extraneous matters waived? Are dangerous admissions made?

e. Are the issues stated as impartial questions? Are too many issues given? too few? Do the issues overlap? Are they arranged in the best order for unity, coherence, and force? Are the issues the correct ones?

f. Does the introduction contain a partition? Does the partition conform to the principles outlined in this chapter?

g. In general is the introduction unduly long? Is it clear? untechnical? interesting? analytical throughout rather than argumentative? prejudiced? intelligently prepared? original in thought?

11. Be prepared to give a short speech on one of the following topics:

a. The practical value of ability to analyze a problem.

b. Principles of division.

c. Importance of discerning main issues in life.

d. How to use stock issues.

e. How to define in debate.

f. Importance of admissions in discussion.

g. Relation of logical analysis to the introduction of a popular argument or a school debate.

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CHAPTER VI

SYNTHESIS: THE BRIEF AND THE RHETORICAL OUTLINE

I. PURPOSE OF THE BRIEF. II. DEFINITION OF THE BRIEF. III. RULES FOR CONSTRUCTING THE BRIEF. IV. THE SKELETON BRIEF. V. TWO KINDS OF BRIEFS. VI. RELATION OF THE ARGUMENTATIVE BRIEF TO THE LEGAL BRIEF. VII. RELATION OF THE ARGUMENTATIVE OUTLINE, OR SPEAKER'S NOTES, TO THE ARGUMENTATIVE BRIEF. VIII. A JUSTIFICATION OF BRIEFING. IX. THE RHETORICAL OUTLINE

I. Purpose of the Brief

Just as the successful expositor arranges his material in the form of logical outline, so the composer of an argument reduces his material to a brief. A brief is a special kind of outline adapted to argumentative composition. This general plan will enable you to survey your case conveniently, to test the logic of your assertions, to question the order of your issues, to review the character and amount of evidence, and to construct a unified, forcible, and coherent forensic. Without this preliminary framework the product will be indirect and wordy. Clear outlining gives confidence to the speaker, and it enables the listener to grasp the material intellectually. Loose speaking, which proceeds easily from idea to idea without close logical organization and yet with spontaneous persuasiveness, may impress for the moment. But the speeches with the more lasting influence have unquestionably been those based on clear and complete organization.

An analysis of the great debates of history and of outstanding speeches shows a completeness of structure, the product of careful planning of material. The Lincoln-Douglas debates on slavery, the Henry-Madison debates on the adoption of the Constitution, the Webster-Hayne debate on state rights, the Beveridge-Hoar debate on the Philippine question, the Lodge debates in the Senate

on the League of Nations, the Borah speech on recognition of Soviet Russia, and many another worthy public discussion illustrate well-developed plan, or briefing.

II. Definition of the Brief

The brief is a special form used in legal practice. The legal instrument is defined as follows:

> A brief is a document, prepared by counsel for the use of the court as a basis for oral argument of a cause; it contains a statement of the matter in which the questions in controversy arose, of the facts of the case so far as they relate to these questions; it is an outline of the argument, consisting of the propositions of law or fact to be maintained, the reasons upon which they are based, and citations of authorities in their support.[1]

This technical description of the brief may be applied to the student brief, often called a *forensic brief*. The latter is a written argumentative outline, organized for the purpose of giving the complete case for one side of the proposition. It provides the reader with a bird's-eye view of the complete argument; it gives to the debater-author a complete chart to guide him in the development of his spoken argument.

III. Rules for Constructing the Brief

For convenience in constructing the brief, rules which students of argumentation and debate have found through experience to be most convenient are followed. It is recognized that no one set of rules is absolutely necessary. The experience of students of debate indicates that the rules given below are highly satisfactory. They are classified as (1) general rules for brief-making; (2) rules for the Introduction; (3) rules for the Discussion; and (4) rule for the Conclusion.

[1] H. S. Redfield, "The Brief on Appeal," from *Brief Making and the Use of Law Books* (Second Edition) (R. W. Cooley, editor), p. 436. West Publishing Company, 1926.

A. **General Rules.** 1. *Arrange the brief in three parts, marked "Introduction," "Discussion," and "Conclusion."* The purpose of the Introduction is to present a complete analysis of the question (including a statement of issues) and a partition of the case. The purpose of the Discussion is to set down the complete argument. The purpose of the Conclusion is to summarize the points as proved.

This division of the general speech has sometimes been condemned as being unnecessarily rigid. Experience, again, will justify us in using it. Corax, of Sicily, who flourished about 470 B.C., is said to have formulated a fourfold division: introduction, narration, proof, and conclusion. Aristotle's division is practically the same: exordium, or approach to the audience; exposition, or analysis proper; proof, or discussion; and peroration, or conclusion. Cicero named six: introduction, narration, proposition, proof, refutation, and conclusion. This classical form, simplified somewhat, has been retained to our day. We continue to advise the marking off of these parts, not because antiquity sanctions the usage, but because practical speech-making indicates the advantage of these divisions. An examination of almost any excellent speech will reveal a rather definite approach, or introduction; a discussion proper; and a well-defined conclusion.

2. *Phrase the ideas as complete statements.* The purpose of this rule is to guarantee clearness and completeness for every idea contained in the brief. The argumentative outline is intended for the reader as well as for the composer. A complete *statement* obviously is less likely to cause confusion than is a mere *term.* A term, although it may be clear to the writer, may be meaningless to the reader. Students sometimes neglect to follow this rule, first, because their ideas are not specifically worked out; secondly, because most people, composers of briefs included, are in a hurry. Writing topics is not nearly so laborious as writing complete sentences. A comparison of the following examples of briefing will show the superiority of the use of complete sentences:

A

The United States should not adopt a policy of having a navy larger than that of Great Britain, for

I. The question of necessity
  A. The coast line
  B. The army
  C. The air force
  D. Enemies of the United States
    1. Possible threat from British fleet
    2. France
    3. Japan
    4. Germany

B

The United States should not adopt a policy of having a navy larger than that of Great Britain, for

I. A larger navy is unnecessary, for
  A. The coast lines of the United States are adequately defended.
  B. We have an army of 125,000 — sufficient for emergencies.
  C. We are rapidly building a large air fleet.
  D. We have not enemies who furnish a possible threat of war, for
    1. Great Britain is at present friendly.
    2. France is in no position to fight America, nor has France a motive.
    3. Japan disavows any desire to fight America.
    4. Germany cannot wage war on us.

The second arrangement, whatever you may think of the caliber of the arguments and the definiteness with which the statements have been proved, at least maps out a certain line of reasoning which the reader is compelled to follow.

3. *Indicate the relation of ideas by proper symbols and proper indentations.* The following system of symbols is generally used:

I. _____, for
  A. _____, for
    1. _____, for
      a. _____, for
        (1) _____, for
          (*a*) _____
  B. _____, for
    (Etc.)

The symbols and indentations thus serve to indicate clearly the relative, logical rank of ideas. Note in the first outline below the confusion resulting from failure to use indentations:

III. The Haugen farm bill is a practicable one, for
A. It would reduce overproduction.
B. It is based upon scientific methods, for
1. It substitutes a scientific marketing for a haphazard one.
C. Its work is under an administrative board of efficient men, for
1. The Secretary of Agriculture will indicate what organizations shall elect representatives to the board.
2. The president will appoint the export board.
3. The producers' coöperative associations will elect the members of the board.
D. The board will involve no expense, for
1. The equalization-fee system will be satisfactory, for
a. The cotton producers would benefit from the fee.
b. The fee would be paid for finally out of profits.
c. The fee would be applied gradually as the price of the product rises.

Consider the improvement in clearness from the observation of proper margins:

III. The Haugen plan is a practicable one, for
A. It would reduce overproduction.
B. It is based upon scientific methods, for
1. It substitutes a scientific marketing for a haphazard one.
C. Its work is under an administrative board of efficient men, for
1. The Secretary of Agriculture will indicate what organizations shall elect representatives to the board.
2. The president will appoint the export board.
3. The producers' coöperative associations will elect the members of the board.
D. The board will involve no great expense, for
1. The equalization-fee system will be satisfactory, for
a. The cotton producers would benefit from the fee.
b. The fee would be paid for finally out of profits.
c. The fee would be applied gradually as the price of the product rises.

The following example illustrates the proper application of margins and symbols:

III. The best plan is to let the agricultural situation take care of itself, for
A. A political measure will not remedy an economic problem, for
1. It can give only temporary relief at best, for
a. The Haugen bill is admittedly only temporary.
b. Legislation cannot permanently change the law of supply and demand and other economic principles, for
(1) The farmer is destined to discover in the end that he cannot play the protective game and come out ahead.
2. Artificial stimulation will cause a never-ending cycle of increased living costs, for
a. Wages will have to be raised continually, for
(1) The consumer will have to pay more, for
(*a*) The Haugen bill provides for increased prices on agricultural products.
B. An economic policy of laissez-faire will meet the needs of the present situation, for
1. It has met similar situations in the past, for
a. We have recovered from past economic depressions without artificial stimulation.
2. Such a plan will soon improve the farmer's financial standing, for
a. He will learn to regulate his potential crops to keep the market from being flooded, for
(1) If he cannot sell all his crop one year, he will not plant so much of that particular commodity the next year, for
(*a*) He has seen that overproduction is the crux of the present depression.
(2) Don Seitz says, "The farmer fails when he neglects the fundamentals of farming, and strives to make one crop care for all his requirements."

4. *Prefix only one symbol to a statement.* Beginners in brief-making sometimes use double symbols to represent one statement, as follows:

II. The Haugen bill would work to the detriment of the farmer, for
A. 1. An increase in price of farm products by legislation would result in a lower price in the long run.

5. *Under each heading express a single point.* Since the brief aims to give a logical statement of each line of argument that contributes to the proof, it is necessary that double arguments be carefully separated. Therefore headings or subheadings that express more than one point must be avoided. Consider the confusion inevitable in an outline such as the following:

I. The Haugen bill for farm relief is economically unsound, for
  A. The Haugen bill stimulates production by drawing the economic resources into a price-fixed industry and is thus economically impracticable, for
    1. Resources would be needed in other fields, such as industrial rather than agricultural fields, in a given period, and this situation is undesirable, for
      a. If agriculture were a price-fixed industry, as it would be under the Haugen bill, all economic resources, land, and labor, and capital would be drawn to that field because of the surety and fixity of the investment.
    2. Production would be stimulated by this program of price-fixed industry, and this is inadvisable, for
      a. Stimulation of production throws more agricultural produce in the market, and this is what we are seeking to avoid through the Haugen bill.
      b. It is impracticable to stimulate production in an overflooded market.

In the case above, double statements following a single symbol need to be separated, because obviously one proposition is logically subordinate to the other. Compare the outline above with the reorganized statement, as follows:

I. The Haugen bill is economically unsound, for
  A. Its manipulation is economically impracticable, for
    1. It would stimulate production in the wrong direction, for
      a. It would draw economic resources into the price-fixed industry, for
        (1) Surety and fixity of investment would be guaranteed.
    2. This stimulation is undesirable, for
      a. It would throw more agricultural produce on the market.
      (Etc.)

Sometimes a whole paragraph is wrongly inserted after a symbol. Thus:

I. The cause for discussion is as follows:
A. Science is making rapid advances.
B. The progress made in the invention of poison gases raises the question.
II. The terms are defined as follows:
A. What is science? It is a broader term than mechanical invention or achievement. Science is systematic knowledge that has been built up since the beginning of man. It can be contrasted with literature only in the sense that literature embraces virtually all knowledge which science does not include. Thus the question might be restated, "RESOLVED, *That more harm than good is done to the world by systematic knowledge.*"

6. *Make the brief impersonal.* Frequently the brief is confused with the speaker's notes or with a fully developed argument. In such case the outline contains such expressions as "I believe that," "We argue that," and frequent use of the personal vocabulary. The argumentative outline is intended as an impersonal statement of the facts involved and is in no sense framed to include persuasive elements. Compare these two statements: the first, personal; the second, impersonal.

A. PERSONAL BRIEF

I. The Volstead Act should be amended so as to allow the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers, for
A. As the law now stands it is unpopular, for
1. Fifty-nine bills were introduced simultaneously into the House of Representatives last March providing for various amendments so as to permit the sale of beer containing 2.75 per cent or more of alcohol.
2. Working-class sentiment is strongly against it, for
a. Let me read what the Railway Car Manufacturers' Association, which employs two million men, has declared:

"Moonshine which the men now indulge in unfavorably affects the regularity of their attendance on Monday mornings following pay days."

b. Let me tell you of the character of the present-day booze as this drink is described by Dr. J. M. Doran, chemist for the Internal Revenue Bureau at Washington: "Ether is often used in home-made liquor, which practice tends to stupefy and knock out the drinker."

B. IMPERSONAL BRIEF

I. The Volstead Act should be amended so as to allow the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers, for

A. As the law now stands it is unpopular, for

1. Fifty-nine bills were introduced simultaneously into the House of Representatives last March providing for various amendments so as to permit the sale of beer containing 2.75 per cent or more of alcohol.

2. Working-class sentiment is strongly against it, for

a. The Railway Car Manufacturers' Association, which employs two million men, has declared: "Moonshine which the men now indulge in unfavorably affects the regularity of their attendance on Monday mornings following pay days."

b. Dr. J. M. Doran, chemist for the Internal Revenue Bureau at Washington, says: "Ether is often used in home-made liquor, which practice tends to stupefy and knock out the drinker."

***B.* Rules for the Introduction.** 1. *Let the Introduction contain a complete analysis of the proposition, including a statement of the main issues and main arguments to be established.* The analysis should include (1) a statement of the occasion or cause for discussion, (2) a history of the case, (3) an explanation of terms, (4) a statement of admitted or waived matter, (5) the contrasted arguments of each side, (6) a statement of the issues, and (7) the partition. Each step of the analysis should be sufficiently full to provide an adequate understanding of the Discussion.

2. *Exclude all argument from the Introduction.* Since the analysis is intended for the purpose of discovering and stating the issues and the partition, it is clear that argumentative material is irrelevant. This rule, however, need not apply to the Introduction as presented in actual debate, where the interests of persuasion may lead to the inclusion of highly debatable statements. Nor is this rule violated by that step of analysis which calls for a contrasting of the affirmative and negative arguments. The listing of arguments is of course not an attempt to develop, or even to indorse, those controversial points. The following section of an Introduction states points that would be challenged by negative speakers:

INTRODUCTION

I. The farm-relief problem is a vital question, in that
  A. Agriculture is an important factor in maintaining our national security.
  B. The farmers as a class are dissatisfied.
  C. Farming is suffering a great depression.
  D. Congress has failed to pass any satisfactory measure, for
    1. The Capper bill, the Dickinson bill, have been unsatisfactory.
    2. The Haugen bill should be passed.
II. The provisions of the Haugen bill may be defined as follows: (Etc.)

3. *In the Introduction use expository briefing, in which each heading explains or is a division of the head to which it is subordinate.* Argumentative briefing requires that substatements prove the main statement. Contrast the two types.

A. EXPOSITORY BRIEFING

III. The plan provides for an international agreement signed by as many powers as can be induced to join.
  A. It provides for an international court of justice.
  B. It provides that all questions not of a justiciable character are to be presented to a commission for settlement.
  C. It provides for a league that shall codify international law and serve in a legislative capacity.

B. ARGUMENTATIVE BRIEFING

III. The plan should be adopted, for
  A. It provides for a practicable plan to deal with international problems, for
    1. It provides for an international court of justice.
    2. It provides for a commission to settle nonjusticiable questions.
    3. It provides for a league to serve in a legislative capacity and to codify international law.

In the first example above, the subtopics attempt to prove nothing; they merely give information. The mood of the author is that of explaining to his audience certain facts later to be discussed. In the second case the object of each statement is to convince the reader or hearer to accept the proposal. The subtopics aim to provide a series of reasons that will lead to the acceptance of the main statement.

4. *Clearly differentiate the successive steps of the analysis.* This rule means that separate headings will be used for cause for discussion, for history, for definitions, and for each of the other steps, so that the reader of the brief will see clearly what special step is under development. Amateurs in argumentative outlining frequently have the material of history and definitions interwoven so that the analysis seems confused.

C. Rules for the Discussion. 1. *Let the main headings of the Discussion correspond to the main arguments listed at the end of the Introduction.* Compare the following (1) issues, (2) points to be proved, or partition, (3) main steps in the Discussion:

A. ISSUES

I. Is military training in state universities needed in preparation for future wars?
II. Is military training in state universities desirable as physical training?
III. Is military training in state universities in harmony with the principles of democratic government?

B. PARTITION

The affirmative will prove

A. Military training in state universities is needed in preparation for future wars.

B. Military training in state universities is desirable as physical training.

C. Military training in state universities is in harmony with the principles of democratic government.

C. DISCUSSION PROPER

Military training should be continued in state universities, for

I. Military training in state universities is needed as preparation for wars, for
(Argument and evidence)

II. Military training in state universities is desirable as physical training, for
(Argument and evidence)

III. Military training in state universities is in harmony with the principles of democracy, for
(Argument and evidence)

2. *In the Discussion use argumentative briefing, in which each subordinate statement proves the more general statement.* A frequent fault in the proof is the appearance of expository briefing, with the result that subtopics stand in no logical subordination to the topics under which they are placed. Notice in the following examples of classroom briefs that a number of the subtopics fail to follow as logical reasons for the topics which precede:

A

I. Mussolini's policies should be approved, for

A. They are the best for Italy, for

1. They logically solve Italy's immigration policy by

a. Asking advice of the League of Nations.

(1) Mussolini intends, before he acts, to submit his immigration plans to the League and ask for their coöperation.

b. Utilizing all sparsely settled regions of the country.

(1) This is Mussolini's plan of internal immigration. It will relieve the pressure on the densely populated regions.

2. They reward mental and physical work by giving those who contribute the right to vote.

a. By this method the Duce discourages the display of power of those who are of the upper class.

B

I. Russia cannot fulfill her international obligations, for

A. The foreign debts of Soviet Russia have been repudiated since 1918.

1. The United States as a creditor lent much to the Kerensky government and to the Russian government in 1916.

a. These loans amount to some $300,000,000.

B. The Soviet government has confiscated and nationalized all property.

1. A great proportion of this is claimed by American corporations and private individuals for losses incurred.

3. *Show the relation between the various statements by the word "for."* This word, shorter than *since* or *because*, indicates the logical relationship and becomes a test of the logic. Inserted at every point in the two examples above, it brings out the failure of subtopics to follow logically from the previous statements. The rule thus makes unnecessary the continual repetition of main headings. *Therefore*, *hence*, *thus*, and similar headings are objectionable. The connectives of the Introduction indicate the expository methods, such as *as follows*, *namely*, *in that*, *for example*. The proof proper is worked out deductively, the premises preceding, and the causes or reasons following.

The rule suggests a device by which the logical order of the Discussion may be tested. Since the brief proceeds from the conclusion downward, you may begin with the argument last in order and work backward, substituting the word *therefore* at each point indicated by the word *for*, and so proceed inductively to the conclusion. This method of testing will often bring to light a gap in the logic. Note how the following section of brief may be tested:

A

I. The Japanese-exclusion act of 1924 should be repealed, for
A. The act was unnecessary, for
1. There is no Japanese menace from numbers in America, for
a. Few Japanese are found in the United States, for
(1) Only 150,000 or 175,000 are found in the continental United States.

B

(1) Only 150,000 or 175,000 Japanese are found in the continental United States; therefore
a. Comparatively few Japanese are found in the United States; therefore
1. There is no menace from the numbers of Japanese in America; therefore
A. The Japanese-exclusion act of 1924 was unnecessary; therefore
I. The Japanese-exclusion act of 1924 should be repealed.

4. *State clearly the argument to be refuted.* This rule assumes that argument is both constructive and destructive; that the purpose of the brief is to establish proof partly by removing inhibitions.

The beginner in briefing often states his refutation in obscure or negative form that leaves the reader in doubt as to whether that part of the brief is intended as refutation. The supreme advantage of this rule is that it requires a clear and accurate statement of the opposing argument. Note the weakness of the following brief in the handling of refutatory material:

The United States should recognize the present Russian government, for
I. Russia merits recognition, for
A. She does not refuse to make a just settlement of her debts, for
1. She offered to pay them on several occasions, for
a. In 1922 Russia offered to pay her debts in return for a loan and recognition (*Literary Digest*, May 6, 1922).
B. In Russia exist no civil and economic uncertainties, for
1. It is not true that life is unsafe, for
a. Bishop Blake of the Methodist Church has declared, "The streets of Moscow are safer than the streets of New York."

2. There is no denial of the rights of property, contract, and free labor, for
   a. Laws have been in force in Russia since 1921 which protect these rights.

Compare the relative clearness of the following, in which arguments to be refuted are clearly stated:

The United States should recognize the present Russian government for
I. Russia merits recognition, for
   A. The argument that she has refused to make just settlement of her debts is unsound, for
      1. She has offered to pay them on several occasions, for
         a. In 1922 Russia offered to pay her debts in return for a loan and recognition (*Literary Digest*, May 6, 1922).
   B. The argument that in Russia are civil and economic uncertainties is unsound, for
      1. The argument that life is unsafe is fallacious, for
         a. Bishop Blake of the Methodist Church has declared, "The streets of Moscow are safer than the streets of New York."
      2. The argument that Russia denies the rights of property, contracts, and free labor is unsound, for
         a. Laws have been in force in Russia since 1921 which protect these rights.

5. *Admitted matter in the Discussion should be placed in a subordinate clause immediately preceding the argument to be established.* The form here would be as follows:

I. Although it is true that occasionally college fraternities are low in scholarship, yet as a group they maintain satisfactory scholarship, for
   A. They compete with each other for scholastic standing.
   B. Any fraternity falling below a required standard has its social privileges on the campus removed.

6. *Note on the margin the exact sources of evidence.* Thus:

II. A change from a bureau to a department of education will make conditions worse, for

A. It will be an unwise change in constitutional procedure, for
1. Tendencies toward centralization have always been opposed, for
a. A sound democratic government requires individual expression and individual initiative, for
(1) Senator Borah says, "This government depends at last upon the intelligence and character of the average citizen."

Congressional Record, Vol. LXVII Pt. VI, p. 5594. March 15, 1926

It should be added parenthetically that these exact sources need not always be recounted when the debater is on the platform. But they should be at hand for citation.

7. *In the brief include the concrete evidence used in actual debate.* The brief, as suggested earlier, is more than a chain of reasoning. It should include practically all the material to be used. The example above illustrates how the argument, however strong or weak it may be, at least rests upon concrete evidence — in this case the testimony of a senator.

D. **Rule for the Conclusion.** *In the Conclusion summarize the main arguments and follow with an impersonal affirmation or denial of the original proposition.* The faults of Conclusions are (1) an unduly elaborate summary of the preceding material, (2) haphazard and inaccurate summary, (3) personal summary and appeal. The following is a satisfactory example of a Conclusion:

CONCLUSION

I. Since Russia merits recognition;
II. Since the recognition by the United States of Russia will benefit Russia in particular and Europe in general;
III. Since the United States will benefit economically from the recognition of Russia;
IV. Since the United States policy of withholding recognition of Russia is a detriment to world peace;

Therefore the United States should recognize the present Russian government.

IV. The Skeleton Brief

The following skeleton outline will be of advantage in working out a brief:

Resolved, *That* _____(State the proposition)

INTRODUCTION

I. The cause for discussion is as follows:
   A. _____
   B. _____

II. The history of the case is as follows:
   A. _____
   B. _____
   C. _____

III. The terms are thus explained:
   A. _____
   B. _____

IV. The conflicting arguments are as follows:
   A. The affirmative argue:
      1. _____
      2. _____
      3. _____
   B. The negative argue:
      1. _____
      2. _____
      3. _____

V. From this discussion is waived the question of _____

VI. It is admitted that _____

VII. The main issues are thus suggested:
   A. _____?
   B. _____?
   C. _____?
   D. _____?

VIII. The affirmative (or negative) will establish the following arguments:

A. _____
B. _____
C. _____
D. _____

DISCUSSION PROPER

The ___ (Repeat proposition as you intend to prove it) _____, for

I. _____, for
A. _____, for
1. _____, for
a. _____, for
(1) _____, for
(*a*) _____

II. ___ } as I, above
III. ___ }
IV. ___ }

V. _____, for
A. The argument that _____ is fallacious, for
1. _____, for
a. _____
B. _____, for
1. _____, for
a. _____
C. Although _____, yet _____, for
1. _____, for
a. _____, for
(1) _____

CONCLUSION

I. Since _____;
II. Since _____;
III. Since _____;
IV. Since _____;

Therefore, ___ (Repeat proposition as you have proved it)

V. Two Kinds of Briefs

In briefing articles the student may use either of two methods of procedure. He may compose an original brief on the basis of the material before him, or he may reproduce literally the arguments of the articles. In the first case he selects, omits, rearranges, amplifies. In the second case he adheres closely to the methods, content, and sequence of the work under consideration. The first method is of course preferable if you wish to convince the reader of the truth or falsity of your proposition. The second method gives practice in analyzing and interpreting the argument of another; the reconstructed brief presumably reflects the mental attitude and mental process of the author in the construction of the argument. The following selections serve to illustrate the two methods. The brief of the first selection, an article on "The Short Ballot," adheres only roughly to the rhetorical structure of the printed argument. The brief of the second selection illustrates the method of analytical and orderly reproduction of the material.

A. THE SHORT BALLOT[1]

Richard S. Childs

We have in the United States a peculiar system of representative government and after patient trial for many generations it is under indictment and suspicion. It often fails to register the will of the people and in fact may brazenly and successfully defy the people on a given issue. In New York state both parties some years ago found it expedient to promise in their platforms to enact a direct primary system of nominations. The people elected a Republican legislature, then a Democratic one and finally a combination of a Republican Assembly and a Democratic Senate — but they didn't get direct primaries till years after. Illinois has seen both parties declare for a reform and muster hardly a vote for it in the legislature. Oregon has seen its legislature scorn proposals which passed by an overwhelming popular vote when submitted to the people later by initiative. Congress knew well enough that the people desired parcel post, but for years con-

[1] By permission of the author and of the National Municipal League.

tinued impassive, and its members got little or no political punishment. The insubordination of our city governments to popular wish is too commonplace to require review. Although the people may be ready to vote overwhelmingly for a measure, their nominal agents and servants in the representative system will frequently maintain a successful indifference or resistance election after election. Our governments are less anxious to please the people than they are to please the politicians who thus become an irresponsible ruling class with a vast and marketable influence. Our representative system is *mis*-representative. Many Americans, impatient with it, are demanding access to an additional and alternative system, namely, direct legislation by the Initiative and Referendum.

Nevertheless the representative system cannot be abandoned. Even with Initiative and Referendum there must still be an organization of public officials to interpret the will and execute the work of the people. Since it is to continue, it must be subdued and made a good and worthy servant.

Our insubordinate representative system is a unique American phenomenon. In other democracies the results of referenda would normally be parallel to the results of elections. What the results of a given referendum would be in England could readily be ascertained with reasonable accuracy by polling the House of Commons. If you would know the sentiment of the electorate of a foreign self-governing city, get the City Council to vote — if it votes two-thirds against your proposal, you may be fairly sure that the electorate would vote about two-thirds against it also. Foreign representative systems are under the thumb of the people, are sensitive and obedient to the popular wish, are anxious to please the whole electorate; and the individual representatives who fail to represent, disappear promptly and almost automatically from public life.

This unique ability of our governmental servants to disobey the people and survive to disobey again suggests that of the many peculiarities in our system of government some may be unsound and unworkable.

Analysis of Present Conditions

Blind Voting

Starting at the broad base of our structure, the voters, we notice one unique phenomenon which is so familiar to us that we usually overlook it entirely — that is *our habit of voting blindly*. Of course

intelligent citizens do not vote without knowing what they are doing. Oh, no. You, Mr. Reader, for instance, you vote intelligently always! Of course, you do! But whom did you vote for for Surrogate last time! You don't know? Well, then, whom did you support for State Auditor? For State Treasurer? For Clerk of the Court? For Supreme Court Judge? And who is your Alderman? Who represents your district at the State Capitol? Name, please, all the candidates you voted for at the last election. Of course you know the President and the Governor and the Mayor, but there was a long list of minor offices besides. Unless you are active in politics I fear you will flunk this examination. If your ballot had by a printer's error omitted the State Comptroller entirely, you would probably not have missed it. You ignored nine-tenths of your ballot, voting for those you did know about and casting a straight party ticket for the rest, not because of party loyalty, but because you did not know of anything better to do. You need not feel ashamed of it. Your neighbors all did the same; ex-President Eliot of Harvard, the "ideal citizen," confessed in a public address once, that he did it, too. I have heard a Governor of one great state remark in a private conversation that he had never voted intelligently in his life except for the head-of-the-ticket candidates. It is a typical and universal American attitude. We all vote blindly. Philadelphia has even elected imaginary men. The judgment of the community is not being applied to any of the minor offices on the ballot. The average American citizen never casts a completely intelligent vote. And a man who votes blindly is being bossed!

Should We Blame the Voters?

This is not all the fault of the voter. To cast a really intelligent ballot from a mere study of newspapers, campaign literature and speeches is impossible because practically nothing is ever published about the minor candidates. And this in turn is not always the fault of the press. In New York City the number of elective offices in state, city and county to be filled by popular vote in a cycle of four years is nearly five hundred. In Chicago there have been six thousand nominees in a single primary election. Philadelphia, although smaller than these cities, elects more officials than either. No newspaper can give publicity to so many candidates or examine properly into their relative merits. The most strenuous minor candidate cannot get a hearing amid such confusion. And the gossip around the local head-

quarters being too one-sided to be trusted by a casual inquirer, a deep working personal acquaintance with politics, involving years of experience and study, becomes necessary before a voter can obtain the data for casting a wholly intelligent ballot.

Plainly the voter is over-burdened with more questions than he will answer carefully, for it is certain that the average citizen cannot afford the time to fulfill such unreasonable requirements. Since the voters at the polls are the foundation of a democracy, this universal habit of voting blindly constitutes a huge break in that foundation which is serious enough to account for the toppling of the whole structure.

Let us see if we can trace out a connection between this as a cause and "misrepresentative government" as the effect.

Blind Voting Leads to Government by Politicians

No one will deny that if nine-tenths of the citizens ignored politics and did not vote at all on election day, the remaining tenth would govern. And when practically all men vote in nine-tenths ineffectiveness, about the same delegation of power occurs, the remaining fraction who do give enough time to the subject to be politically effective, take control.

That fraction we call "politicians" in our unique American sense of the word. A politician is a political specialist. He is one who knows more about the voter's political business than the voter himself. He knows that the coroner's term will expire in January, and contributes toward the discussion involved in nominating a successor, whereas the voter hardly knows that a coroner is being elected.

The politicians come from all classes and ranks and the higher intelligence of the community contributes its full quota. Although they are only a fraction of the electorate they are a fair average selection and they might give us exactly the kind of government we all want if only they could remain free and independent personal units. But the impulse to organize is irresistible. Convenience and efficiency require it and the "organization" springs up and cements them together. Good men who see the organization go wrong on a nomination continue to stay in and lend their strength, not bolting unless moral conditions become intolerable. Were these men not bound by an organization with its social and other non-political ties, their revolt would be early, easy and effective, and every bad nomination would receive its separate and proportionate punishment in the alienation of supporters.

Politicians Can't Exclude Public Enemies from their Ranks

The control of an active political organization will gravitate always toward a low level. The doors must be open to every voter — examination of his civic spirit is impossible — and greed and altruism enter together. Greed has most to gain in a factional dispute and is least scrupulous in choice of methods. The bad politician carries more weapons than the politician who hampers himself with a code of ethics one degree higher. Consequently corruption finally dominates any machine that is worth dominating and sinks it lower and lower as worse men displace better, until the limit of public toleration is reached and the machine receives a set-back at election. That causes its members to clean up, discredit the men who went too far, and restore a standard high enough to win — which standard immediately begins to sag again by the operation of the same natural principle.

Reformers in our cities have given up the endeavor to maintain pure political organizations on the model of the regular party organizations. A typical experience is that of the Citizens' Union of New York, whose leaders have always been sincerely bent on improving the conditions of politics. The Union acquired power enough to become an important factor in elections. After the first such election, small political organizations which had aided toward the victory rushed in, clamoring for plunder. For a term or two the reformers were able to resist the pressure. Nevertheless the possession of power by their party inevitably attracted the self-seekers; the reformers found themselves accepting assistance from men who turned out to be in politics for what there was in it, men who wanted to use the power and patronage that lay at hand unutilized, and it was clear that those men would in time, working within the Union, depose the original heads of the party, and substitute "more practical" leaders of their own kind, until in time the Citizens' Union would itself need reforming. So the Union retired from the field as a party, broke up the district organizations which had yielded to corruption and adopted a less vulnerable type of internal government in order to preserve its purity of purpose.

It is obvious that most political parties do not thus commit suicide to evade internal contamination and lapse of principle!

Theoretically there is always the threat of the minority party machine which stands ready to take advantage of every lapse, but as there is no debate between minor candidates, no adequate public scrutiny or comparison of personalities, the minority machine gets no

credit for a superior nomination and often finds that it can more hopefully afford to cater to its own lowest elements. In fact, it may be only the dominant machine which can venture to affront the lowest elements of its membership and nominate the better candidate.

Misrepresentative Government the Normal Result of Government by Politicians

The essence of our complaint against our government is that it represents these easily contaminated political organizations instead of the citizens. Naturally! When practically none but the politicians in his district are aware of his actions or even of his existence, the office-holder who refuses to bow to their will is committing political suicide.

Sometimes the interests of the politician and the people are parallel, but sometimes they are not, and the office-holder is apt to diverge along the path of politics. An appointment is made, partly at least, to strengthen the machine, since the appointee has a certain following. A bill is considered not on its simple merits but on the issue — "Who is behind it?" "If it is Boss Smith of Green County who wants it, whatever his reasons, we must placate him or risk disaffection in that district." So appointments and measures lose their original and proper significance and become mere pawns in the chess game of politics which aims to keep "our side" on top. The office-holders themselves may be upright, bribe-proof men — they usually are, in fact. But their failure to disregard all exigencies of machine politics constitutes misrepresentative government and Boss Smith of Green County can privately sell his influence if he chooses, whereby the public is in the end a heavy sufferer.

Summary of the Analysis

Thus the connection between the long ballot and misrepresentative government is established: By voting the long ballot blindly, we entrust large governing power to easily-contaminated organizations of political specialists, and we must expect to get the kind of government that will naturally proceed from their trusteeship.

Every factor in this sequence is a unique American phenomenon. Our long ballot with its variegated list of trivial offices is a freak among the nations. The English ballot never covers more than three offices, usually only one. In Canada the ballot is less commonly limited to a single office, but the number is never large. A Swiss would have to live a hundred years to vote upon as many men as an American undertakes to

elect in one day. To any foreigner our long ballot is astonishing and our blind voting appalling. We, with our huge ballots, require our citizens to be twenty to fifty times as alert as foreign citizens in order to keep from electing men they don't really want. The politicians as a professional class, separate from popular leaders or office-holders, do not prevail in other lands and the very word "politician" has a special meaning in this country which foreigners do not attach to it. And government from behind the scenes by politicians, in endless opposition to government by public opinion, is the final unique American phenomenon in the long ballot's train of consequences.

The Voting that is not Blind

The blind vote, of course, does not take in the whole ballot. Certain conspicuous offices engage our attention and we all vote for those with discrimination and care. We go to hear the speeches of the candidates for conspicuous offices, those speeches are printed in the daily papers, and reviewed in the weeklies, the candidates are the theme of editorials, and the intelligent voter who takes no part in politics, votes with knowledge on certain important issues.

In an obscure contest on the blind end of the ballot, conformity with popular opinion has little political value, but in these conspicuous contests where we actually compare man and man, complete compliance is a definite asset to a nominee. Hence in the case of an obscure nomination, the tendency is automatically away from the people, but in a conspicuous nomination the tendency is toward the people.

Accordingly while we elect aldermen who do not represent us, and legislators who obey the influences of unseen powers, we are apt to do very well when it comes to the choice of a conspicuous officer like a president, a governor, or a mayor. For mayor, governor or president we are sure to secure a presentable figure, always honest and frequently an able and independent champion of the people against the very machine that nominated him. We are apt to re-elect such men, and the way we sweep aside hostile politicians to do it shows how strong is our impulse to reward the faithful servant.

And so in these conspicuous offices — those for which we do *not* vote blindly — we secure comparatively sensitive obedient government as a normal condition, considering that the organized and skillful opposition which always faces us occupies a position of great strategic advantage in possession of the nominating machinery.

The Remedy

We cannot hope to teach or force the entire citizenship to scrutinize the long ballot and cease to vote blindly on most of it. The Mountain will not come to Mahomet; Mahomet then must go to the Mountain.

First. — We must *shorten the ballot* to a point where the average man will vote intelligently without giving to politics more attention than he does at present. That means making it very short, for if the number of these simultaneous elections is greater than the bulk of the citizens care to keep track of, then we have government by the remaining 40 per cent., or 20 per cent., of the citizens — and no matter whom we believe to be at fault, that plan in practice will have resulted in oligarchy and be a failure. The test for shortness is to inquire, when a given number of offices are filled by election, whether the people vote blindly or not on any one of them. For if they begin to require "tickets" ready-made for their convenience, they are sharing their power with the ticket-makers — and democracy is fled!

Second. — We must put on the elective list only offices that are naturally conspicuous. The petty offices must either go off the ballot and be consolidated under a responsible appointing power, no matter how awkwardly, or they must be increased in real public importance by added powers until they rise into such eminence as to be visible to all the people. The County Surveyor, for instance, must go, for the electorate will not bother with such trifles whether the ballot be short or not. Why indeed should 50,000 voters all be asked to pause for even a few minutes apiece to study the relative qualifications of Smith and Jones for the petty $1,000-a-year post of County Surveyor? Any intelligent citizen may properly have bigger business on his hands!

And the Alderman — we can't abolish him perhaps, but we can increase his power by enlarging his district and lengthening his term and making his Board a small one. Till then how can we make people in Philadelphia agitate themselves over the choice of a Common Councilor who is only one hundred-and-fortieth of the city legislature!

That candidates should be conspicuous is vital. The people must be able to see what they are doing; they must know the candidates — otherwise they are not in control of the situation, but are only going through the motions of controlling.

The Short Ballot Applied

To be pictorial, let us see how a revised schedule of elections might look if we put into the realm of appointment (*i.e.*, consolidated) as many as possible of those offices which the people now ignore. Most county offices, many city positions and the tail of the State ticket would thus be disposed of. In Oregon the Peoples' Power League (which devised the Initiative, Referendum and Recall) proposed to capture the representative system for the people by an initiative petition to shorten the November ballots to the following schedule:

First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
President and Vice-President, four years.	Governor, four years. *Appoints all state administration, and Sheriffs and District Attorneys.*	Congressman, two years.	Judges.
Congressman, two years.	State Auditor, four years.	3 County Directors, four years. *Appoint all other county officers.*	
Senator, six years.	State Representative, four years. (*State Senate abolished.*)		

City elections in Oregon come at other times of the year and can easily be simplified and in some cases Short Ballot plans have already been adopted. There is endless room for discussion as to the details and many other arrangements could be devised. This schedule provides for every office which must be kept within the realm of politics. It provides short ballots which every man would vote intelligently without calling a political specialist to come and guide the pencil for him.

It may be objected that to take the minor offices off the state ticket, for instance, and make them appointive by the Governor would be giving too much power to the Governor. Well, somebody, we rarely know who, practically appoints them now. To have them appointed by a recognized, legally-constituted authority is surely better than to have them selected by a self-established, unofficial, unknown and irresponsible coterie of politicians. There is no great peril in unifying power, provided we can watch what is done with it. (Suppose we were electing by popular vote not only the President and Vice-President of

the United States, but the cabinet, the supreme court and the other federal judges, the federal marshals, district-attorneys, foreign ambassadors and postmasters! Can you see how our superficial doctrinaires would resist the adoption of the present unified and bossless plan?)

The History of the Long Ballot

In the early days of the republic the activities of the state and municipal governments were small and there were few offices. Little by little new offices were created and for haphazard reasons were frequently made elective. At the same time we were changing from a nation of villages to a nation of cities. The likelihood that the voters would personally know the candidates was steadily diminishing. The voters became more and more dependent on hearsay evidence. Newspaper space was limited, and not every candidate could get enough of it to make himself known to the people. The number of elective officials was thus increasing while the practicability of electing them all was diminishing. The public was becoming bigger and clumsier but its political work was becoming more delicate and intricate. Perhaps if it had all come suddenly we would have seen that the long ballot was an expert's ballot and led infallibly toward practical oligarchy, whereas, a short, simple ballot was the people's ballot and led toward practical democracy. But the long ballot came slowly and looked like a friend. Every time it grew longer a few more voters began to vote blindly till today (outside of rural elections, perhaps) everybody but a few political specialists votes blindly on part of his ballot. So we have today not democracy but government by political specialists — a ruling class — a self-created aristocracy of political insiders — and that is oligarchy! The fact that it was honestly intended to be a democracy is not enough to make it one. If it doesn't "democ," it isn't democracy!

The Short Ballot in Operation

Fighting government-by-politicians now is like fighting the wind. If the government is to be brought within the sure control of the people, the ballot must be brought within the sure control of the individual voter. We must get on a basis where the real intentions of the average voter find intelligent expression on the entire ballot so as to produce normally the kind of government the voters want, whether

that kind be good or bad. It will in fact be good — not as good as the most enlightened of the populace may desire, but better than what the politicians can be expected to purvey. At any rate the right route to reform is via democracy and politics without any politicians at all. Impossible in this country? NO! Galveston has it with its government by a Commission of Five. This Commission has without scandal carried through tremendous public improvements (raising the ground level to prevent another flood), and at the same time has reduced the public debt and the tax rate. That is good administration. More than that, it gets re-elected by overwhelming majorities and has not been in peril at any election. The "old crowd" which misgoverned the city for years, holds only 20 per cent. of the vote now. And the total campaign expenses of electing the right men are only $350.

From the hundreds of cities that have followed Galveston come similar reports the gist of which is that these conspicuous commissioners have been seeking to please the people (not the politicians) by giving progressive economical government.

It has been thought that this was the fruit of correct organization, analogous to a business corporation with its board of directors. But there are many other elected commissions and boards in the United States — "County Commissions," "Boards of Education," "Trustees of the Sanitary District," "Boards of Assessors," etc. — and they are not conspicuously successful, but in fact such organization often serves only to scatter responsibility and shelter corruption. Their obscurity and insignificance conceal them from public oversight as effectively as if publicity were forbidden by a censorship and in consequence those parts of our government are utterly beyond popular control. NO! Popular government as distinguished from politicians' government is a matter of electing the people's men in the first place. To elect the people's men is first of all a matter of arranging for the maximum amount of concentrated public scrutiny at the election. The way for the people to keep popular enemies out of office is to refrain from electing them. And the way to refrain from electing them is to arrange to get a good look at every one of them at election time.

Were it otherwise, we would find misgovernment in British cities which, except for this feature, are ideally organized from an American grafter's point of view. The British city authorities are hampered most unjustly by a hostile House of Lords, their machinery of government is ancient and complicated, and their big councils with com-

mittees exercising executive management over the departments, with ample opportunity for concealment of wrongdoing, with no restraining civil service examinations, with one-tenth of the laboring population on the municipal payrolls would apparently provide an impregnable paradise for the American politician of the lowest type. But the ballot for an English municipal election can be covered by the palm of the hand. It contains usually the names of two candidates for one office, member of the Council for the ward. (The Council elects the Mayor, the Aldermen and all other city officers.) Blind voting on so short a ballot is hardly conceivable. Every voter is a complete politician in our sense of the word. The entire intelligence of the community is in harness, pulling, of course, toward good government. An American ward politician in this barren environment, unaided by any vast blind vote, could only win by corrupting a plurality of the whole electorate, a thing that is easily suppressed by law even if it were not otherwise a manifest impossibility. So there are no ward politicians in England, no profession of politics, and misrepresentative government is abnormal. (The number of elective offices in English cities, by the way, is nevertheless greater than in ours, for there are many wards and those councils are consequently large. Don't think that the Short Ballot necessarily means few elective offices.)

Similarly Galveston concentrated the attention of the voters sharply upon candidates for only five offices, all very important. The press could give adequate attention to every one and in consequence every intelligent voter in his easy chair at home, formed opinions on the whole five and had a definite notion of the personality of the candidates. In such a situation the ward politician had no function. There was no ignorant laissez-faire, no mesh of detail for him to trade upon. He became no more powerful than any other citizen, and his only strength lay in whatever genuine leadership he possessed. Moreover, if he nominated men who could stand the fierce limelight and get elected, they would, *ipso facto*, probably be men who would resist his attempt to control them afterward. Or if they did cater to him, it would be difficult to do his bidding right in the concentrated glare of publicity where the responsibility could be and, what is much more vital, would be, correctly placed by every voter. And so the profession of politics went out of existence in Galveston and the ward politician who had for generations misgoverned the city for his own and his friends' benefit went snarling into oblivion.

"Politics," seeking re-entrance into Galveston, would make department heads, etc., separately elective ("make them directly responsible to the people and let the pee-pul rule"). Suppose that they should increase the Commission to thirty members elected "at large" with variegated powers and functions. Straightway tickets, cooked up by "leaders," would reappear, and the voter, facing a huge list of names, most of which he had hardly heard of, would impotently "take program" and concede control to a little but active minority, the politicians.

But suppose again that the enlarged commission be elected not "at large," but by wards, one member to a ward. The voter then has only one decision to make. Newspaper publicity is weakened by division, but this weakness is now repaired by neighborhood acquaintance and the candidate's opportunity to make himself personally known to a large proportion of his constituency. Once more the voter registers an opinion instead of blindly ratifying the work of a party organization. The politician is again left without a function. His popularity may avail in certain wards and he may thus elect some of the commission, but he will not have from any citizen who is intelligent enough to do his own thinking that blind acquiescence which in other conditions had been the bedrock of his power.

Conclusion

Just how we are to get rid of the great undigested part of our long ballot is a small matter so long as we get rid of it somehow. Govern a city by a big Board of Aldermen, if you like, or by a Commission as small as you dare make it. Readjust State constitutions in any way you please. Terms of office can be lengthened. Many officers, now elected, can be appointed by those we do elect. But manage somehow to get our eggs into the baskets that we watch!

For remember — we are not governed by public opinion but by public-opinion-as-expressed-through-the-pencil-point-of-the-Average-Voter-in-his-election-booth. And that may be a vastly different thing! Public opinion can only work in broad masses, clumsily but with tremendous force. To make a multitude of delicate decisions is beyond its blunt powers. It can't play the tune it has in mind upon our complicated political instrument. But give it a keyboard simple enough for its huge, slow hands, and it will thump out the right notes with precision!

There is nothing the matter with Americans. We are by far the most intelligent electorate in the world. We are not apathetic. Apathy is a purely relative matter depending on how much is asked. Ask much of the people and you will see more apathy than if you ask little. If the people of Glasgow were asked to attend caucuses, primaries, conventions and rallies in support of the best candidate for Coroner, they too would stay home by their firesides and let the worst man have it. If they had our long ballot they would be in a worse mess than we are with it. And if we, on the other hand, could get their handy short ballot, we too would use it creditably. For our human nature is no worse than theirs. The Scotch immigrant in our midst is no more active a citizen than the rest of us. We are not indifferent. We do want good government. And we can win back our final freedom on a Short Ballot basis!

BRIEF

RESOLVED, *That in the United States the short ballot should be adopted.*

INTRODUCTION

I. This question is of interest.
   A. Many questions have been raised concerning the value of our system of representative government.
   B. Question concerning the introduction of the short ballot as a possible remedy has been raised.
II. The history of the ballot is as follows:
   A. In the early days of the republic there were few municipal or state offices.
   B. With the multiplication of public offices came the great increase of elective positions.
   C. The rapid increase in population meant a corresponding decrease in the opportunity of the public to know personally the candidates.
   D. The short ballot became long and cumbersome.
III. The short ballot would mean a considerable reduction in the size of the present municipal and state ballot so that on the elective list would be only a few conspicuous offices.

IV. Contrasted arguments are as follows:
  A. The affirmative argue:
    1. Present voting is blind.
    2. The short ballot would give better government.
    3. The short ballot has been successfully applied.
  B. The negative argue:
    1. The present voting has resulted in satisfactory government.
    2. The short ballot would lead to undue concentration of power in the hands of politicians.
    3. The short ballot has in practice failed.
V. It is agreed that we must retain an organization of public officials to interpret the will of the people.
VI. The special issues are thus suggested:
  A. Does the present system of voting result in bad government?
  B. Would the short ballot mean an improvement in our system of administering government?
  C. Would the short ballot prove practicable in its operation?
VII. The affirmative will prove:
  A. The present system of voting means bad government.
  B. The short ballot would improve our system of administering government.
  C. The short ballot would prove practicable in operation.

Discussion

The short ballot should be adopted in the United States, for
  I. The present system of voting means bad government, for
    A. Our system of representative government is objectionable, for
      1. It fails to register the will of the people, for
        a. In New York State, although both parties in their platforms promised a direct system of primaries, the legislatures, elected on this platform by the people, refused for years to execute the promises.
        b. In Illinois, although both parties have declared for a reform, the legislatures have refused to carry out the will of the people.

c. The same has been true in Oregon.

d. Congress, knowing that the people desired parcel post, took no action for years.

e. Our city governments repeatedly refuse to carry out the well-defined will of the people as expressed in their vote.

2. Our voting is blind, for

a. The voter does not know the names or personalities of the candidates for whom he votes.

b. Ex-President Eliot of Harvard confessed that he voted blindly.

c. The governor of one state has testified that he voted blindly.

d. Too many offices are listed, for

(1) The number of elective offices, state, city, county, for which the New York City voter votes in a four-year cycle is nearly five hundred.

(2) In Chicago six thousand nominees have been listed for a single primary election.

(3) Philadelphia elects more officials than either New York or Chicago.

(4) Newspapers cannot give publicity to so many candidates or report concerning their fitness.

3. Our government is in the hands of "politicians," for

a. The "politicians" give time and thought to the whole subject of voting and of getting political control.

b. The politicians get power through their organization.

4. Government by politicians means bad government, for

a. The control of the political organization sinks to a low level, for

(1) Selfish members of the organization are more active and more effective in their use of corrupt methods.

(2) A typical instance is that of the Citizens' Union of New York, for

(*a*) After this reform organization secured power it found itself being controlled by self-seeking politicians.

II. The short ballot would improve our system of administering government, for
  A. It would be a more adequate representation of the will of the people, for
    1. Those elected to office would know that the people in voting for them did so intelligently.
  B. Voting would be intelligent, for
    1. The voter would know the names and personalities of the candidates, for
      a. Few offices would be listed.
  C. Government would be wrested from the hands of the machine politicians, for
    1. Intelligent voting would decrease the power of the machine.
  D. Government would be improved.
III. The short ballot is practicable, for
  A. The plan would be easily applied, for
    1. The ballot would be made much shorter.
    2. On the elective list would be only offices that are naturally conspicuous.
    3. Oregon is a case in point, for
      a. The Peoples' Power League proposed a plan by which in the first year the president, congressmen, and senators would be voted on, in the second year, governor, state auditor, and state representatives, in the third year, congressmen, county directors, in the fourth year, judges.
    4. The argument that to allow the governor to appoint minor officers is giving him undue power is fallacious, for
      a. At present these officers are appointed by irresponsible politicians.
      b. Unification of power will give opportunity for fixation of responsibility.
  B. The plan has worked in practice, for
    1. It has worked well in Galveston, for
      a. There it has had a Commission of five.
      b. This Commission has reduced the tax rate and the public debt.
      c. The Commission is reëlected.
      d. The "old crowd" controls only 20 per cent of the vote.

2. It has worked well in hundreds of other cities.
3. It has worked well in England, for
   a. Although British city authorities are hampered by a hostile House of Lords, yet the short ballot prevents blind voting.
   b. There are no ward politicians.
   c. "Mis-representative" government is abnormal.
4. It has worked well in Canada.
5. It has worked well in Switzerland.

CONCLUSION

I. Since the present system of voting means bad government;
II. Since the short ballot would improve our system of administering government;
III. Since the short ballot would prove practicable in operation;

Therefore in the United States the short ballot should be adopted.

Compare the preceding brief, based on the article, "The Short Ballot," with the brief next given, which reproduces the argumentative material of the editorial on Russia in the order in which the ideas were printed.

B. RUSSIAN RECOGNITION [1]

At intervals there is renewed agitation for the recognition of the Russian soviets, and many well-intentioned persons are puzzled by the resulting discussion. There seems little doubt that conditions in Russia have improved somewhat in the past few years, although they could hardly have grown worse without complete disorganization.

It is true that from a humanitarian and idealistic view-point recognition by this country might be of help to the Russian people.

It is likewise possible that recognition might promote trade intercourse; and there are, of course, business interests here that are always figuring on large Russian concessions.

[1] *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 1, 1927. Used by permission of The Curtis Publishing Company.

But the essential questions involved are quite other than these. Russia has already granted numerous concessions, and they do not appear to be enriching the nationals of other countries. In certain cases the properties have been confiscated from former owners. In any case the uncertainty of business in Russia is well illustrated by the fact that Russia itself has not yet won the confidence of the rest of the world enough to obtain absolutely necessary loans on any scale in other countries. It is no expression of prejudice — it is mere statement of fact — to say that the vast majority of honest, law-abiding citizens of other nations do not trust the soviet régime.

We are repeatedly told that Soviet Russia has undergone a change of heart. Yet its attempts to undermine the governments of other countries do not appear to have ceased. It is true that some of the governments we have recognized in the past have been none too good, but they did not seek to undermine our own institutions or to overthrow our most cherished principles.

Great Britain has gone a long way toward meeting the soviets, yet everyone knows with what vigor the responsible ministers of that country now repudiate such action. Russia, of course, got its hooks into England during a short-lived socialist régime in the latter country. There seems no doubt that at times in this country, as well as in England and on the Continent, all manner of strikes, large and small, have been used by the communist element, working on Russian inspiration and sometimes with Russian money, not to settle disputes between employers and men, but as a lever to attempt the overthrow of national institutions.

There is no mutual confidence existing between the present régime in Russia and the people of this country. As President Coolidge has said, we do not propose to barter away or make merchandise of American principles for privileges of trade which, after all, are like the little boy's Indian gift — something which is stretched out and then through mischief or malice pulled back. The situation is simple enough; the present régime in Russia does not recognize any such thing as morals in dealing with what it calls the bourgeois nations.

Former Secretary of State Elihu Root has said that to recognize Russia would be to acknowledge that the avowed purpose of the present Russian Government to overthrow our present system of government by force is consistent with international friendship. "Of course that would be a lie."

Fortunately the majority of Americans agree with Mr. Root when he says that if our people lose their sincere belief in their own institutions and "fall into a weak milk-and-water attitude of indifference toward the principles upon which our Government is based, we shall have very serious troubles in the future."

BRIEF (NEGATIVE)

RESOLVED, *That the United States should recognize the Russian soviet government.*

INTRODUCTION

I. The question arises as to the recognition of Soviet Russia.
II. It is admitted that conditions in Russia have improved in recent years.
III. It is admitted that recognition by the United States would help Russia.

DISCUSSION

The United States should not recognize Russia, for

I. The argument that recognition would help American business interests is unsound, for
  A. The numerous concessions granted by Russia to foreign business interests have apparently not financially helped those interests.
  B. Russia has confiscated properties of former owners.
  C. Russia has not won the financial confidence of the world, for
    1. That country has been unable to secure foreign loans of large scale.
II. The argument that Russia has changed her attitude toward foreigners is unsound, for
  A. Russia continues to undermine the governments of other countries, for
    1. England, after admitting Russia during the socialist régime in Great Britain, found it necessary to repudiate the soviet government, for
      a. It was found that the soviets were encouraging strikes as a lever to overthrow the government.
    2. The United States and continental Europe had similar experiences with the working of the communist elements.

III. Recognition of Russia would be inconsistent with the principles of American government, for

A. President Coolidge has said that such recognition would mean the bartering away of American principles, for

1. Russia applies no moral code in her international dealings.
2. Former Secretary Root has declared that such recognition would mean an acknowledgment that Russian attempts to overthrow our government would be consistent with international friendship.

IV. Recognition of Russia would result in serious trouble for the United States, for

A. This recognition would mean, according to Secretary Root, that the American people had fallen into a weak, indifferent attitude toward the principles upon which the American government is based.

VI. Relation of the Argumentative Brief to the Legal Brief

The debater's brief has much in common with the legal brief, or "brief on appeal" in cases appealed from a lower to a higher court, the document from which the argumentative brief no doubt has its origin. The chief resemblances and differences may be noted.

The purpose of the legal brief is to give to the court a statement of the complete case for either the plaintiff or the defendant; the purpose of the debater's brief is to provide a complete statement of the case for either the affirmative or the negative so that both debater and reader may have a clear understanding of the entire argument.

The legal brief uses the paragraph structure, whereas the argumentative brief uses the system of indentions.

The legal brief has the following steps: (1) Title, (2) Preliminary Statement, (3) Statement of the Case, or "Facts," (4) Specification of Errors, (5) Brief of the Argument. It will be noticed that the debater's brief conforms closely to these subdivisions. (1) The Title corresponds to the statement of the proposition. (2) The Preliminary Statement corresponds to the preliminary explana-

tion sometimes attached to the extralegal brief. (3) The Facts are in general like the main Introduction, or analysis, of the student brief. (4) The Specification of Errors corresponds to the main issues and the partition in the Introduction. (5) The Brief of the Argument is similar to the debater's Discussion proper, or proof. The legal brief proper emphasizes the authorities much more than does the extralegal brief.

VII. Relation of the Argumentative Outline, or Speaker's Notes, to the Argumentative Brief

After you have worked out your brief, you will no doubt want to draft from it the outline for your speech. The process of adaptation to your audience will lead you to a method of development more or less different from the order of the brief. Your speaker's outline will probably use mere terms, a paragraph arrangement of ideas, and a sequence calculated to secure the maximum response from a definite audience.

VIII. A Justification of Briefing

***A.* The Objection from the Point of View of Literary Composition.** The argumentative brief, like other types of outlines, has been severely criticized because of the woodenness of the resulting speech or written argument. The brief, it must be admitted, usually so dominates the speech or written forensic that the bones of the skeleton protrude. Elaborate briefing often makes for dull, uninspired, speech-making, filled with mechanical summaries, repetition of words and phrases that make up the brief, many terms of enumeration, and other earmarks of a mechanical rather than a literary foundation. Such is the literary objection.

Even if these dull characteristics inevitably followed the brief, the formal outline would probably be justified. For the process, as suggested at the outset of this chapter, gives order to your thinking, clearness to your thought, logical sequence and definiteness of statement, and other rhetorical results that are no

mean elements in an effective speech. If conviction and understanding may thus be obtained, a certain amount of ponderousness is excusable.

***B*. The Objection as Logic.** Another indictment, from students of logic, is that the brief is "based on the categorical syllogism and therefore does not fit all kinds of arguments. There is need for an alternative type of reasoning and method of arrangement." [1] This alternative type would not argue so much as it would set forth the situation in expository or narrative form. It is systematic argument which "unfolds" rather than enumerates argument after argument. Yet this implicative reasoning persuades in the end because it points to an inevitable "this-or-nothing" conclusion.[2] The method is based upon the theory of logic that the world is an "implicative system," an "implicative whole," or an "inferential whole," and that to lay out arguments, as the brief does, in linear form, brick upon brick, is to defeat the process by which the mind of the debater or of the audience often works.

It must be admitted that the brief does not contain *all* the material which a persuasive speaker would present to an audience; that the order in which the ideas are unfolded in the speech might be vastly different from the sequence of the brief. Nevertheless the brief such as has been proposed in this chapter forms a logical pattern of the argument that may well be used as a basis for the type of speech described by the critics. Indeed every creative speaker refuses to be bound by mechanical outlines. Fitting his material to the occasion, he does use description and exposition freely; he does present the situation as a unit, as a "this-or-nothing" statement; he does develop his theme so that he remains on common ground with the group. Such is ideal debating. There is no reason why the rigid brief should not form the material out of which the inferential whole

[1] Gladys M. Graham, "Logic and Argumentation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* (November, 1924), Vol. X, pp. 350–363.

[2] Gladys M. Graham, "Natural Procedure in Argument," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* (November, 1925), Vol. XI, pp. 338–357.

could be built up, to the practical satisfaction both of the debater and of the logician who sees all argument and thinking as unitary.

The mature student of briefing need not be a slave to his rigid document. It becomes a means to a practical end. Its construction has sharpened the mental processes, given the facts, and created a mental alertness which means a continuation of creative thinking. In the writing of the argument the elaborate outline may be put away. So will the student shift the order of development, omit valueless statements, and include other persuasive material — in short, translate the dry structure into a living composition, vigorous, original, spontaneous. If he keeps his mind alert both to argument and to original expression, if he follows the best literary standards of both poetry and prose, and if he keeps in mind all the requirements of his audience and regards his speech as a process of communication, there is no reason why the brief with its ten or twenty rules should not be the basis for a speech effective in every detail.

IX. The Rhetorical Outline

To meet the need for the inclusion of the expository or other compositional elements that do not find a place in the formal brief, the construction of the rhetorical outline is advised.

The rhetorical outline is a device that aims to set forth completely the processes of exposition and argument contained in a persuasive or informational speech or article. Many speeches, prevailingly argumentative or expository, have a considerable blending of the two elements, with narrative and descriptive passages included. Thus the expositional lecture or address that contains sections of straight argument may be conveniently reduced to a comprehensive outline; likewise the argument which "unfolds" and reveals the "implicative processes" of a "this-or-nothing" type of logic may be outlined without rejecting whole paragraphs or even distorting utterly the order of development. This rhetorical outline, then, is in reality a com-

bination of the analytical or expository outline, the argumentative brief, and the speaker's outline for delivery.

The rules for the construction of a brief will, in general, apply to this other method. Complete sentences will be used; proper symbols and indentations will be observed, one symbol being used for each statement; in argumentative outlining each subordinate heading will explain the more general topic or be a division of it; the material will be arranged according to the order for delivery or printing; and the outline may or may not include the personal elements, including "we" and "you."

The following rhetorical outline illustrates the method:

THE FLAG WE FOLLOW

President Wilson's Speech on June 14, 1917

I. The flag of this country is the emblem of national unity, power, thought, and purpose.
  A. Its character is determined by the qualities we give to it.
  B. It speaks to us of our history.
    1. It is a symbol of great events.
    2. It represents a great plan of national life.
  C. It is about to be carried into battle.
II. Consider the purposes of the war:
  A. Are our armies, sent across the sea for the first time, to sacrifice for some new thing or for old, familiar purposes?
  B. We must serve America and the flag as we have always served them.
III. We have been forced into the war.
  A. The aggression of the German government left us no choice.
    1. That government filled our communities with spies and conspirators.
    2. It tried to spread sedition in this country.
    3. It tried to cripple our industries and commerce.
    4. It attempted to inflame Mexico and Japan.
    5. It denied us the use of the high seas and sank our vessels and destroyed lives.
    6. Its efforts to corrupt us were in many cases successful.

IV. We are not enemies of the German people.
  A. They did not originate this war or drag us into it.
  B. We are fighting their war against autocracy.
 V. The military masters of Germany (who are also the masters of Austria) began this war.
  A. They have regarded nations merely as groups to be controlled by force.
  B. They have especially regarded small nations as prey.
  C. Statesmen in general failed to note the propaganda set forth by German professors and writers.
  D. These Germans filled the thrones of the Balkan States with German princes.
  E. They influenced Turkey, and sent their agents into Egypt, India, and Persia.
 VI. They developed the Berlin-Bagdad dream.
  A. Austria-Hungary was to be a tool for developing this belt of German power.
  B. The project assumed force as the basis and was to unite diverse peoples like the Croats and the Turks.
  C. This project has been partially realized.
    1. Austria is at their mercy.
    2. Serbia is crushed.
    3. The Turkish armies serve Germany.
VII. Now they are aiming at peace.
  A. The talk has been going on for a year.
  B. Germany holds as pawns not only Southeastern Europe, but also France, Belgium, and Poland.
  C. The situation compels them to talk peace.
    1. They cannot go forward.
    2. They dare not retreat.
    3. If they succeed, force will be secure.
    4. If they fail, the German government will fall.
    5. A union of peace, in the latter case, will result.
VIII. This drive for peace takes the form of general propaganda.
  A. These German leaders are using German Socialists.
    1. If success comes, these liberals will be crushed.
  B. They are spreading intrigue in Russia, in the United States, and elsewhere.
  C. They utter merely opinions.

IX. Their plan will fail.
  A. The false betray themselves by their talk.
  B. This war is a people's war for freedom.
X. War is our only choice.
  A. No one must stand in the way.
  B. History will vindicate our decision.

The war president in this speech was engaged in a solemn effort to persuade the American people. The address shows in effect that there could be no alternative to the declaration of war. The entire speech is a development of a proposition not directly expressed until the conclusion: "For us there is but one choice. We have made it." Highly argumentative though the material is, it lends itself to rhetorical-outline treatment more effectively than it does to that of the formal brief. If it is desired to set down only the logical elements of the speech, then the formal brief is to be used; if all the elements of the speech are to be included, especially in cases where the address or article is not strongly argumentative, the rhetorical outline may be preferred.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain what rules are violated in the following examples of briefing:

A

III. The Hare system of proportional representation does not elect a higher caliber of legislative officers.
  A. The representatives are what the voter chooses, and no party is able to elect men contrary to the wishes of the voters.
    1. Thus the new system puts into office practically the same caliber of men.
  B. The caliber of the representatives depends not on the system but on the character of the men who work the system.
  C. Local representation would be destroyed and vast districts would be totally unrepresented.
    1. This would cause immense distrust and dissatisfaction in these unrepresented districts.

B

The American university is not a failure, for

I. It may not be perfect, but we cannot label it a failure, for

A. The universe is not perfect, but we do not consider it a failure.

B. If you were "bumming" to Denver, you would not turn down a lift to Omaha just because it did not take you to Denver, for

1. You would be glad of the chance to get what you could.

C. We could not agree on a definition of a perfect university anyway.

II. The cash value of an education is recognized, for

A. Endless statistics have been compiled on the subject, which will not be listed, for

1. The class has expressed its dislike for statistics.

III. Results of research sponsored by universities would in themselves justify the existence of the universities, for

A. The accomplishments of medical science, for

1. Who would not admit its value?

B. Scientific study has resulted in airplanes, radio, etc.

C. Psychologically much is being done in research, for

1. Psychopathic cases are in many instances diagnosed and cured.

2. In the field of vision experiments show new and important facts, for

a. Aged beliefs are often discovered to be incorrect and damaging.

3. Studies are being made in audition; facts may later be used in locating submarines.

4. Seashore's musical tests discover failure, if they do not detect sure success, for

a. They detect bad or good rhythmic sense, tonal discriminations, etc.

D. Physicists and chemists have made a fused quartz glass through which the ultra-violet rays of the sun pass, which will benefit humanity, for

1. The violet rays of the sun, important in body metabolism, were heretofore only obtainable by being out of doors.

C

RESOLVED, *That the Philippines should be granted their independence.*

INTRODUCTION

I. History of this question dates back to the Spanish-American war, at the conclusion of which the United States took over the Philippines, because even then it was believed by some that the people of those islands were entitled to independence.

A. The *Philippines* refers to the territory, population, and native provincial government of those islands in the East Indies known as the Philippine Islands.

B. Independence is the freedom of the government of those islands from the dictation of policies concerning the government of their own affairs by the United States.

C. Granted is used for the freeing of these islands from the authority of the United States, because assent to the petition of the Filipinos urged in Congress would effect the desired end.

D. The purpose of the affirmative is to try to show that that petition should be granted.

II. The main issues of the debate are

A. Is Philippine independence compatible with American security?

B. Do the Philippines deserve independence?

C. Is it just to grant the Philippines independence?

D

I. Intervention in Nicaragua benefits the economic interests of the United States, for

A. It protects American citizens and property in Nicaragua, for

Saturday Evening Post, Feb., 1927

1. Did not the agreement between Coolidge and Nicaragua create neutral zones in which no fighting may take place?

World's Work, Feb., 1927

2. No disturbance was caused to American citizens in Nicaragua between 1912 and 1925, for

a. United States marines were on guard in Nicaragua during that time.

3. It maintains the defense of the Panama Canal, for
   a. Abandonment of the canal by the United States would weaken our commerce and national defense.
   b. The canal connects our eastern and western coasts in the easiest manner, for
      (1) It upholds our privilege to build another canal through Nicaragua, for
         (*a*) So long as we maintain an interest in Nicaragua we may build a canal there, for
            (1) An agreement between the two countries so provides.

Saturday Evening Post, Feb., 1927

2. Write a complete brief of one of the following topics: revision of football rules, annexation of Mexico, modern drama, military training in colleges, exclusion of freshmen from fraternities, self-government, faculty proctors in dormitories, prohibition of student-owned automobiles at college, the small college *versus* the large one, the extension of the honors courses, a new gymnasium or library, required attendance at college exercises, required subjects in school; or you may select some similar school or college problem.

3. Brief an editorial selected from some current newspaper.

4. Make a rhetorical outline of one of the following articles: A. T. Hadley's "What is Education?" in *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1922; A. P. Fitch's "What is the Attitude of College Students toward Organized Religion?" in the *Journal of Religion*, March, 1921; Christian Lange's "Internationalism," in *Living Age*, June 7, 1924; Lucie Zimmern's "Woman's Part in the New Renaissance," in the *Century Magazine*, April, 1923. (These articles are also found in A. C. Baird's *College Readings on Current Problems*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.)

5. Select one of the subjects listed in Exercise 4. Prepare an expository brief or outline in which you inform and instruct, but in which you avoid giving a series of reasons.

6. Point out specific differences between an expository brief or outline and an argumentative brief or outline.

7. Brief a refutation of the arguments contained in the brief you have prepared for Exercise 2.

8. Brief a sales talk for the sale of some article.

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CHAPTER VII

EVIDENCE

I. NATURE OF EVIDENCE. II. RELATION OF EVIDENCE TO ARGUMENT AND PROOF. III. THE NECESSITY FOR EVIDENCE. IV. CLASSIFICATION OF EVIDENCE. V. NEED FOR ASSUMPTIONS. VI. RELATIVE VALUE OF TESTIMONIAL AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE. VII. RELATION OF LEGAL TO EXTRALEGAL EVIDENCE. VIII. TESTS OF EVIDENCE. IX. TESTS OF THE SOURCE OF EVIDENCE. X. APPLICATION OF THE TESTS OF EVIDENCE AND THE TESTS OF THE SOURCE OF EVIDENCE. XI. NEED FOR SHOWING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EVIDENCE

I. Nature of Evidence

Once you have analyzed your argument and decided what points you wish to establish in the mind of the reader or hearer, your next task is to offer arguments that will lead the reader or hearer to think and act as you wish him to. Argument is the progression from an accepted truth to an alleged conclusion. This mental process is that of *inference*. It is the process of the mind by which we pass from old to new facts; by which we bridge the chasm between that which is familiar and that which is remote. The assumed truths are the premises. When these premises deal with facts which are accepted as true, they constitute *evidence*. Evidence is

> that which tends to render evident or to generate proof . . . any matter of fact, the effect, tendency, or design of which is to produce in the mind a persuasion, affirmative or disaffirmative, of the existence of some other matter of fact.[1]

A matter of fact is concerned with the existence of things, the occurrence of facts, the classification of objects, and the connection between events, whereas a matter of theory is concerned with the general laws or principles that may be employed in settling questions of facts or questions of policy.[2]

[1] W. M. Best, *Principles of the Law of Evidence*, p. 5. Boston Book Company, 1908.
[2] W. C. Shaw, *The Art of Debate*, pp. 49–50. Allyn and Bacon, 1922.

II. Relation of Evidence to Argument and Proof

The basis of argument is thus evidence, concrete illustration, quotations, instances, and figures. The process of advancing from evidence to conclusion is argument. The conclusion is proof. "Proof is the sufficient reason for assenting to a proposition as true." [1]

An illustration of the relationship of these terms is found in the following section of a brief:

Congress should enact legislation embodying the principles of the Jones farm bill, for

I. There is an urgent need for such action, for

A. The effects of the war have placed the farmer in the severest agricultural depression ever experienced in this country, for

1. Prices for all basic farm commodities have fallen to a position out of all proportion to other prices, for

a. The fall in prices, accompanied by deflation of money and credit, has made it impossible for him to meet his debts.

b. Credit that is available and used merely places him deeper in debt, because with the low prices he cannot meet his obligations, for

(1) Farm bankruptcies from 1910 to 1924 increased over 1000 per cent in contrast to commercial failures over the same period.

c. The depressing condition affecting agriculture is producing a certain psychological effect and attitude which is not conducive to the best interests of the country, for

(1) The situation has become so acute that since 1920 about seventy-five thousand farms have been abandoned, which fact shows that there is a decided movement to the cities.

d. Government reports show that agriculture would have gotten $13,000,000,000 more for all its products since 1919 if it could have maintained prices in line with those of nonagricultural products.

[1] Francis Wharton, *Criminal Evidence*, p. 111. The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, 1899.

In the brief above, the proof consists of the fact that Congress should enact legislation embodying the principles of the Jones farm bill. "Farm bankruptcies from 1910 to 1924 increased over 1000 per cent in contrast to commercial failures over the same period" is evidence, as is "The situation has become so acute that since 1920 about seventy-five thousand farms have been abandoned, which fact shows that there is a decided movement to the cities." Arguments which proceed from this evidence are "There is an urgent need for such action, for the effects of the war have placed the farmer in the severest agricultural depression ever experienced in this country."

III. The Necessity for Evidence

In the everyday world of affairs we make countless inferences without evidence. We accept our own judgment as trustworthy; and our friends, in many cases when confronted with our conclusions, admit them good-naturedly or keep silent. Our human minds are so organized, however, that we fail to make the same inference from a given group of facts, because our experiences differ or because our prejudices affect our point of view. Hence arises the necessity for argument. Assertion, the attempt to state conclusions without a logical approach, is valueless as argument. Much of the so-called discussion on street corners, in hotel corridors, in legislative halls, and in student talk-sessions is based upon mere assertion. Much of the reasoning of the average person ignores the real question at issue and arrives at the real conclusion by the assumption of the facts that need to be proved. How many theories about the trend of an automobile stock, or the status of the Republican party, or the future of Siwash University, or the merits and demerits of some campus leader, would go into the discard if a few tests of evidence were applied?

When a person with a tendency toward sweeping statement attempts to deal with some quiet listener who has taken the trouble to master definite and numerous facts on the question under con-

sideration, some awkward moments follow. Neither deep conviction nor vehement declaration is sufficient. One thing only helps: the acceptance by the audience of definite facts that will logically invite inferences favorable to the purpose of the speaker.

The first and elementary principle behind all argumentative thinking and speaking is this: Whenever you make an assertion or advance any proposition which you wish others to accept, couple that idea with evidence sufficiently complete to convince "beyond a reasonable doubt." Because people have their prejudices and individual points of view, it is often necessary to justify to others what to you seems obviously true.

To illustrate: Senator Borah, in a speech on July 6, 1922, discussed in the Senate the question of the "soldiers' bonus" bill:

> We are now paying out over $1,000,000 a day for the disabled veterans; about $436,000,000 for this year will be paid, more than a million dollars a day. If we calculate the obligations which we owe these men — and if they are disabled it is an obligation which we must meet at whatever cost — it will cost this government, upon the ratio that it cost us after the Civil War, in the next fifty years over $65,000,000,000. Some estimate it higher. But add to that the $22,000,000,000 which we already owe and the immense budget which we have, and you have about all that the American taxpayer will be willing to carry during these coming years.
>
> But it is proposed out of hand to lay upon the American people at this time an extra burden of from four to six billion dollars, almost twice as large as the debt which we had at the close of the Civil War; and if we pay it in the same way and at the same rate that we paid the debt after the Civil War, it will take us two hundred and fifty years to pay off the debt which we propose to lay in a few weeks for the purpose of this supposed obligation.

With such facts — evidence — before his audience the speaker then stated his conclusion:

> "For the sake of our common country, for the sake of peace and happiness among the millions who must bear this awful load, who cannot pass it on, will not the old party of so many noble victories rise to meet the occasion and stop once and for all this orgy of extravagance?"

President Wilson, in his war address to Congress, April 12, 1917, presented to that body the following facts (evidence):

1. The German government announced that on and after the first day of February it was the intention of that government to sink, by submarines, every vessel that approached the shores of England, Ireland, or the western coasts of Europe.

2. Under the new policy vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, have been without warning sent to the bottom.

3. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the Belgians have been sunk.

4. Noncombatants, men, women, and children have been killed.

With this evidence clearly before the American public the message then called upon Congress to declare war against Germany.

Whether you are condemning certain provisions in bonus bills, declaring war on a nation, advocating a swimming pool for your school, or expressing your opinion about types of motors, about radio sets, about your favorite newspapers, or about the best vocation to follow, you need to have the same methodical habits of laying a logical foundation for what you advocate. Some speakers and writers scatter generalities about and then claim the right of approval. Form the habit of being concrete, and without seeming to be contentious about secondary matters insist upon having supporting evidence from others and habitually offer it yourself.

IV. Classification of Evidence

A. **Form.** Evidence, in law, may be classified according to its form, its source, and the relation which the facts bear to the conclusion. You should understand each of these divisions. The last-mentioned is of chief interest to college debaters.

Evidence may be classified according to its form as real, verbal, positive, or negative. Real evidence consists of any object that may be used to establish the debater's contention. Verbal evidence is made up of statements concerning the objects. Positive evidence consists of facts that go to prove the existence of alleged facts. Negative evidence is that resulting from the absence of facts.

Real evidence is illustrated by the revolver exhibited in the murder trial; verbal evidence, by the statements of a witness about this weapon.

Positive evidence is offered concerning the fact that the accused was seen in the vicinity of the house at the time of the robbery; negative evidence would consist of the fact that he was not observed anywhere else at that time. In debate negative evidence is often used when the speaker argues that "no evidence exists that the Japanese are preparing for a war against the United States" or makes some similar assertion which he is confident cannot be disproved.

B. **Relation to Source.** According to the nature of the source, evidence is original, hearsay, written, unwritten, ordinary, or expert. Original evidence is any fact or statement of fact from an original source without passing from mouth to mouth. Hearsay evidence is that which is passed from one person to another. Written evidence is any fact derived from a printed or written source. Unwritten evidence is that which springs from common knowledge or from a spoken source. Ordinary evidence is that which comes from a person who is without special knowledge. Expert evidence is that derived from someone who has special knowledge and experience.

Original evidence is exemplified in the statement, "In November, 1922, the United States Supreme Court decided in the Ozawa case that Japanese were not included in the term 'free white persons' in our Constitution and hence could not become citizens of this country."

Hearsay evidence would be, "The speaker says that it is reported that the United States Supreme Court decided that Japanese were not included in the term 'free white persons' and hence could not become citizens of this country."

Written evidence would be that found in printed or typed argumentative articles; unwritten evidence would be these same facts incorporated in a speech.

Ordinary evidence is that given by the student debater who

asserts that Federal income taxes should be reduced. Expert evidence would be similar testimony offered by the Secretary of the Treasury.

C. **Relation to Conclusion.** Evidence is further classified, according to the relation that the facts bear to the conclusion, into two types, — testimonial, or direct, circumstantial, or indirect. Testimonial evidence is that which is drawn from the opinion of authorities and from the direct statement of witnesses. Direct evidence proves a point without inference. Circumstantial evidence, on the other hand, consists of inferences from authenticated facts. It is made up of facts from which an inference or inferences may be drawn to the case in point. When three witnesses testify to the fact that they saw Skykes shoot Scrooge, the case is one for conviction on direct, or testimonial, evidence. When Scrooge is discovered with a bullet through his head and an empty revolver at hand is identified with one supposed to be owned by Skykes, when the suspected man is known to have left town immediately after the murder is committed, then an inference may take place that Skykes is a murderer. The conclusion is based upon circumstantial evidence. It should be noted that in the final analysis all testimonial evidence becomes a matter of inference and that all inference, or indirect evidence, involves finally a search for a cause. This twofold division of evidence is a practical rather than a philosophical one.

V. Need for Assumptions

It is true that assertions must be supported by evidence, but behind this evidence must be certain assumptions taken for granted by both sides. On these assumptions we proceed daily; as in the assumptions that we exist, that two persons cannot be in the same place at the same time, that patriotism is worth while, that life is worth living, and that self-protection is justified.

Argument is successful only when assumptions are accepted. For example, when the debater arguing in support of cancellation

of allied war debts makes the point that wholesale collection of these debts will mean the dumping on American markets of foreign goods and the consequent destruction of American prosperity, he assumes that the preservation of American prosperity is worth while. A classroom debate was enlivened by a negative speaker who, in reply to the affirmative argument that Ireland should continue to be an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations because, if that island were free, England's strategic security would be gone and the British Empire would crash to ruins, asked the question, "What difference would it make if the British Empire did go to ruin?" In this case the affirmative assumption was not granted.

VI. Relative Value of Testimonial and Circumstantial Evidence

The popular impression often is that direct evidence is much more trustworthy than indirect. Seeing is believing, we are told, and the most reliable kind of material is obviously that in which a witness testifies directly to the truth or falsity of the proposition. He saw Scroggs shoot Ting Loo. Unfortunately, however, the witness or authority may be mistaken, or he may be a liar. Usually, therefore, we are driven to supplement testimony with circumstantial reasoning. The strength of the latter type is that it does not need to reckon with human fallibility. But all circumstantial evidence is of course valid only to the extent that it proceeds from sound reasoning. It is impressive in proportion to its cumulative character. In sum, each type is weak, and each type strong. The value in neither case is to be measured by the kind of evidence but rather by the extent to which it convinces.

VII. Relation of Legal Evidence to Extralegal Evidence

Evidence, as used in the court room, has a restricted meaning not attached to the popular use of the term. Courts of law, for many reasons, have limited the application of evidence. The

orderly conduct of trials, the unreliability of human senses, and various other factors have led courts to limit the kinds of evidence used. These laws of evidence, stipulating what shall be admissible, are made by legislatures and of course are followed rigidly. These rules stipulate, for example, that a man, after seven years of absence, shall be assumed to be dead; that facts of general knowledge do not require proof; that evidence must be confined to the point at issue; that the burden of proof is upon him who holds the affirmative; that hearsay evidence is inadmissible; that testimony should in general have to do with matters of knowledge rather than of opinion; and so on.[1]

Outside of the court we refuse to be bound by these restrictions. In practical debate all evidence is admitted; the only question is the value of that evidence.

VIII. Tests of Evidence

It is highly important that we weigh each bit of evidence to determine its value. Are the alleged facts worthwhile (assuming that the inferences drawn from this evidence are valid)? Will the alleged evidence be accepted as true on the basis of common knowledge or on the basis of the authorities who offer it? No matter how excellent the evidence may apparently be, it will not be acceptable if it is inconsistent with itself, with other evidence, or with the laws of logical argument.

***A.* Internal Consistency.** Is the testimony consistent internally? Are the facts as stated to be reconciled with each other? Is there undesigned testimony offered by a witness which is directly contrary to other statements made by him?

***B.* Consistency with Other Evidence.** Is the testimony inconsistent with other facts? Sometimes debaters in their zeal to stress various arguments use facts that apparently contradict each other. A student argued for government ownership of coal mines because it would mean cheaper coal to the consumer. In the next

[1] See H. F. Covington, *The Fundamentals of Debate*, pp. 126–127. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

breath he argued in favor of such ownership because it would mean much better labor conditions, in that the laborers would receive much higher wages. He did not dispose of the apparent inconsistency between the higher wages and the lower price of coal.

C. **Consistency with Logical Argument.** Is the testimony consistent with the laws of logical argument? Here we touch upon the matter of causes and effects. The principles and characteristics of argument as discussed in the following two chapters need to be applied as a final gauge of the validity of evidence.

We should inquire, Is it reasonable to suppose that the evidence is as presented? The witness testified that snow fell in the state of Iowa in July. We ask, By what laws of causation could such a turn of nature be possible? Is the testimony consistent with argument from cause to effect? effect to cause? with the laws of analogy? the argument from specific instances?

IX. Tests of the Source of Evidence

In addition to a consideration of consistency as the test of evidence we have to deal with the criticism of the source. The source of evidence is in the testimony of witnesses and authorities. In the law court the two are clearly distinguished. A *witness* in court is one who gives testimony concerning a disputed fact, whereas an *authority* is one competent to give opinions about the fact. A witness gives testimony evidence; an authority gives opinion evidence.

A. **Tests of Witnesses.** Four tests may be applied to a witness: Is he competent? Is he unprejudiced? Is he truthful? Has he opportunity to know the facts?

The obstacles to competency are numerous. The testimony of senile persons, of the deaf, of the blind, of the mentally deficient, is probably unreliable. Powers of observation and of judgment, of course, differ widely. Moreover, the relation of the witness to the subject of the controversy is important. Whenever the witness benefits from his testimony, his statements are to be discounted. The naval officer who testifies that three new battle

cruisers are needed, the Republican who testifies that a Republican administration is a success, are witnesses likely to be governed by prejudice. On the other hand, the testimony becomes doubly satisfactory if it obviously results in injury to the witness. If the professor of Greek were to declare that the time spent in the study of Greek is usually wasted and that his department ought to be discontinued, his words would have much weight.

***B.* The Tests of Authority.** The legal distinction between authority in regard to matters of opinion and testimony concerning matters of fact does not hold for the school or college debater. He derives both opinion and facts from authorities. He applies the term *authority* both to the author and to the author's article. The tests for evidence from authority, as used in this sense, are similar to those from witnesses:

1. *Competency.* Is the authority competent? Is his opinion based on expert knowledge of the subject at issue? Has he had special opportunity to know facts in the given case? John Bassett Moore and Elihu Root, for example, are authorities on international law; Charles A. Beard, A. Lawrence Lowell, on government. A congressional debate seeking to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law made the following use of authority:

If one is to believe that great jurist, Justice Harlan, the failure to curb monopoly in part resulted from the misinterpretation by the highest court of the purpose and meaning of the law. Professor Frank A. Fetter of Princeton University refers to the trust problem as particularly existing since 1880. He declares that:

When monopoly in one form seems curbed it breaks out in another form. It is always the same but always changing. For the same root of monopoly is just selfishness, the elementary passion of human greed showing itself in the attempt of some men to get in trade and commerce more than their fellow men can get for the same or similar efforts and services to the community.

He refers to the fact that the nature of industrial monopoly has changed and has become largely —

A question of "big business," having substantially a local monopoly over large areas and charging discriminatory monopoly prices from the mills.

Referring to the evolutionary processes through which monopoly has passed in the United States, he states that from the close of the Civil War until 1900 the monopoly problem was mainly a struggle for power among rival concerns, and that:

> There was keen competition in prices, rebates from railroads, unfair practices and devices for destroying rivals in business.[1]

Professor Fetter is cited as authority to establish the general character and the persistence of monopoly in America. Those who listened to the debate or read it would be impressed by the competency of this source.

Senator Borah, in the United States Senate on February 21, 1919, in the course of his extended indictment of the League Covenant showed that the adoption of it by the United States would destroy the Monroe Doctrine.

> The ex-President said that the Monroe Doctrine is covered and extended to the world. That was the condition before Monroe announced it. The world was one. Monroe determined to separate it and divide it, and that was the very object of it. It was a distinct announcement that the English system could not be transferred to America. The rest was simply detail. It was the division of two systems; it was the political partition of two continents. Monroe or Jefferson never would have contemplated for a moment sharing the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine with any nation of Europe. We would not even join with England in announcing it.
>
> May I read here in connection with my remarks a statement by ex-Senator Root upon this particular feature? Before I do that, however, I desire to call attention to the language of Thomas Jefferson. It precedes the remark which I was about to make. This letter of Jefferson states as clearly as can be stated the prime object of the announcement of this doctrine:
>
> > The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence.
>
> Why does the Sage of Monticello rank the Monroe Doctrine next to the Declaration of Independence? Because he believed that we

[1] *Congressional Record*, April 27, 1926, p. 8228.

could not maintain our independence without the Monroe Doctrine. He believed that it was an indispensable pillar to our national independence, and second only to it in the catalogue of responsibilities and duties and obligations which rested upon us:

> That made us a nation.
>
> This sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark upon it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim, should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.

. . . I now call your attention to the statement of Senator Root upon the proposition advanced by the ex-President — of sharing with other nations responsibility in enforcing this doctrine. Mr. Root says:

> Since the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration based upon this Nation's right of self-protection, it can not be transmuted into a joint or common declaration by American States or any number of them.

Mr. Borah thus to bolster up his conception of the Monroe Doctrine as a policy incompatible with our entanglement in European affairs cites Jefferson and Root, each an authority on this particular problem, each venerated by all political parties, each representative of the best political thought of his generation.

Debaters often commit the fallacy, to be discussed more fully in the chapter on "Fallacies," of assuming that because a man or woman is prominent, his or her opinions are expert on every subject. If a baseball player achieves national fame, he straightway is quoted as having declared that this automobile is more satisfactory than any other; that this brand of collar wears better than all others. He may be quoted as authority on any matter from political parties to the rehabilitation of China. Automobile magnates are not always experts concerning racial problems; congressmen are not always the best authorities concerning what types of battle cruisers should be built; internationally known business leaders are not always specialists in the field of drama or poetry and may be no better qualified than less pecunious citizens concerning the value of some freshly produced drama.

Only men who have become specialists on a given subject are worth citing as authorities on that subject.

2. *Freedom from Prejudice.* John R. Mott, long general secretary of the International Y. M. C. A. Committee, would hardly be the fittest authority to prove the benefits of the Y. M. C. A. movement. Samuel Gompers, until his death president of the American Federation of Labor, would likewise have been open to criticism as an authority on the virtues of labor unions. On the other hand, authorities who seem to testify contrary to their own interests are the most effective sources. A congressional argument in support of the repeal of the Volstead Act made the following use of authorities who were presumably testifying contrary to their own interests:

A few days ago a poll was taken at Yale College which showed the students and professors of that institution were in favor of modification or repeal of the present law by a 5 to 1 majority. Again, the National League of Women Voters in their St. Louis convention, held a few days ago, by a vote of 171 to 79 refused to approve the present prohibition law. Every day men and women who have made a study of this question, who have tried to enforce the law, such as General Andrews, Mayor Dever, and others, were obliged to concede that the law can not be enforced and something must be done.

The following editorial satirizes the use of prejudiced authority:

MILITARY AND NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS

For the past three weeks, however, the newspapers have been carrying columns of woe, emanating from congressmen, generals, admirals, officers of defense societies and others who claim intimate and incontestable knowledge of the facts, and all to the same effect. According to these witnesses, the army, the navy, and the air forces are a wreck, with the morale of personnel shattered by public indifference and equipment hopelessly deteriorated through neglect. The brigadier general who holds forth in the daily press on the morning these lines are written tells a tale of army desertions which indicates that the soldiers are streaming away from the army posts in a continuous parade that must look like an annual review at an American Legion convention.

Congressman Britten is nobly upheld by sundry naval officers in his broadcasts of the helplessness of the navy. And Mr. Brisbane's remarks on aviation sound optimistic when compared with those of the officers attached to the flying branches.

The inference is that because these men who were bewailing a weak army and navy and the need of appropriations were themselves naval and military officers, their testimony was obviously worthless because prejudiced.

3. *Reliability.* Is the authority reliable? Is he given to bombast, exaggeration, and questionable assertion? The application of this test would lead to the rejection of the authority of certain prominent newspapers.

College debaters, like other people, often assume that because statement is printed, it necessarily is an accurate and reliable statement. Whoever bursts into print, therefore, is freely quoted as satisfactory. Only through experience, sometimes disheartening experience, do we come to realize how much that is found in the books and papers is utterly unreliable. Newspapers, although they are in the main most laudable agencies for informing public opinion, necessarily gather their news quickly and from sources that frequently are open to question. Hence the false statements and the exaggerations that occur. Likewise the human family is so eager to add to the world's libraries that books are hastily or ignorantly patched together. Students of argument will do well to scan with discrimination printed sources as well as oral testimony.

4. *Definiteness.* Is the authority definite? "Statistics show," "someone has said," "a prominent member of Wall Street said recently," "a Mexican diplomat wrote," and similar expressions mean little. In argumentation, especially in debating, the source should be precise. In the body of the written forensic the references should be explicit; accurate and definite sources should appear as marginal notes or footnotes. In actual delivery of the debate the speaker need not bore the audience with elaborate recital of page and chapter; whenever it would seem necessary, however, the speaker must be ready to cite his sources.

Debaters often say "The *Congressional Record* tells us" without suggesting that, no doubt, some senator or representative is holding forth on that page cited. Frequently we are told that "The last number of the *Literary Digest* tells us on page forty-three that such and such statement is true or untrue." The need here is to get the exact source and, if possible, the original source. Perhaps the *Literary Digest* is quoting Senator Smith in a recent speech in Congress. The student will ultimately substitute for the statement above the remark that "Senator Smith in his address in Congress on April thirteenth said so and so."

5. *Support from Other Sources.* Is the authority supported by other sources? Superficial students often rely on one authority. Continued reference to one book is usually an index of limited preparation.

6. *Support from Logical Argument.* Is the authority supported by argument from specific instances, causal relation, and analogy? Evidence from authority, excellent as it is, should not be used exclusively. Students often make the mistake of trying to prove their case by a list of quotations from magazines and other sources. Authorities are mainly to furnish a source for verifying facts rather than for the voicing of opinions. A variety of evidence should be used, both direct and indirect. Articles and other sources of information should be thoroughly digested so that the ideas as presented become fresh and original. As suggested above, testimonial evidence should, wherever possible, be combined with circumstantial evidence.

X. Application of the Tests of Evidence and the Tests of the Source of Evidence

To illustrate the working of the tests discussed above, may we take a single illustration:

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, stated: "There can be no doubt of the economic benefits of prohibition. Viewing the prohibition question only from this angle, prohibition has proved its case.

I think increased temperance over the land is responsible for a good share of the enormously increased efficiency in production, which statistics, gathered by the Department of Commerce, show to have followed passage of the prohibition law.

"Exhaustive study from many angles of production over average periods ten years apart, before and since the war, would indicate that while our productivity should have increased about 15 per cent, due to the increase in population, yet the actual increase has been from 25 to 30 per cent, indicating an increase of efficiency of somewhere from 10 to 15 per cent.

"There is no question in my opinion that prohibition is making America more productive. There can be no doubt that prohibition is putting money in the American family pocketbook. The dry law has proved its worth in dollars and cents."

You will examine first the source of the evidence, Herbert Hoover. Is he competent? Is he free from prejudice? Is he reliable? Is he definite? Is his statement supported by other authorities? Does logical argument further substantiate his assertion? To answer these questions you will need to secure the facts of Hoover's training and general background; in addition you will scrutinize the argument for its logic to answer the last question.

Your second line of inquiry will lead you to examine the evidence itself. Is it consistent within itself? Is it consistent with other evidence? And is it consistent with logical argument from causal relation, specific instances, analogy?

XI. Need for Showing the Significance of Evidence

Students of debate who accumulate and present a wealth of evidence usually make the mistake of failing to show the audience the significance of that evidence. The problem is not simply to state the facts, but to have the audience see them and accept them. If, for example, you cite Professor H. L. Markson as an authority on rubber, it would be well to cite his particular qualifications and lead the audience thus to appraise rightly his opinion concerning the future of the rubber market.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Bring to class five examples, taken from debates, printed speeches, magazine articles or editorials, of evidence from authority. Be prepared in the classroom to apply the tests of authority.

2. Can you suggest tests of authority other than those mentioned in this chapter?

3. Who are the best authorities on the work of the Supreme Court, the tariff, college education in America, college football, Latin America? What newspapers and magazines are the most reliable sources?

4. Criticize the use of the authorities in the following examples. Be able to discuss each authority mentioned and to apply the tests.

a. The unions themselves make no secret of this purpose to limit output. The business agent of the Buffalo Plumbers' Union says in the *Buffalo Commercial* of January 4, "The union steamfitters in the past have been compelled to limit their output not to exceed one fourth or one third of their otherwise natural ability."

b. We affirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries and protecting our workmen from competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. — Platform of the Republican National Convention

c. The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and the laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. — Platform of the Democratic National Convention

d. The so-called open shop furnishes the best possible means to drive the organization from every point of vantage, and in the end to disrupt and to destroy. The closed shop is the only protection of unionism for its trade agreement and the defense of its individual men. — C. S. DARROW, "The Open Shop," Social Economic Series, No. 2, Vol. I, p. 25

e. The American Constitution is entirely too difficult to amend. Said Patrick Henry more than a century and a quarter ago before the Virginia convention called to consider the adoption of the Constitution: "They tell us there is a plain, easy way of getting amendments.

When I contemplate this part, I suppose that I am mad, or that my countrymen are so. The way to amendment is, in my conception, shut."

f. The principle asserted above — that all treaties are concluded upon the tacit condition *rebus sic stantibus*, and that, where the state of things which was the basis of the treaty and one of its tacit conditions no longer exists, the treaty becomes voidable, and either party may notify the other that it regards the treaty as abrogated — is sustained by authority. The principle was clearly recognized by Vattel (*Law of Nations*, Book II, chap. xiii, sect. 200), and by Grotius (*The Rights of War and Peace*, chap. xvi, sect. 25, et seq.).

g. The House Naval Committee has heard quite enough authoritative testimony to make the speedy beginning of work to improve the navy imperative. Admiral Fiske's testimony yesterday dealt chiefly with the amazing deficiency in our supply of mines and our possession of only one mine-layer, the *San Francisco*. With the evidence of the effectiveness of the mine in modern warfare so fresh in their minds it seemed that the committee must have felt that they had heard almost enough. The admiral also dwelt impressively on the impossibility of a coherent plan of action with the present organization of our navy.

h. The Japanese-exclusion clause in the Immigration Act of 1924 should be repealed as unjust and discriminatory. *The Los Angeles Times* said that the clause was an unwarranted discrimination that was unworthy of a great nation.

i. Current History for February, 1925, estimates that the Japanese who would come annually as non-quota immigrants from all the countries of Central and South America and Canada, and as picture brides, would aggregate forty thousand persons.

j. M. Komatsu, eminent Japanese newspaper man who was formerly with the diplomatic service of his nation, summarized the situation exactly when he said, referring to Japanese-American relations, that "the existence in either country of a large unassimilable element of nationals of the other country entering into disastrous economic competition with the native, must inevitably result in racial conflict and international misunderstanding." The obvious way to remedy the situation is to halt further contact by this exclusion law.

k. The Budget Act, on the authority of W. W. Willoughby, has meant financial advantage without breaking down our constitutional system.

l. The members of the president's cabinet should participate in the deliberations of both Houses of Congress. Secretary Hughes said, "The

way to improve our government is to improve points of contact between executive and Congress." President Taft said, "The presence of the members of the Cabinet on the floor of each House would be greatly to the benefit of the Houses." Secretary Hoover said, "This movement brings one of the most constructive steps that can be taken in freeing our governmental machinery." Secretary Work said, "I am in favor of any movement toward efficiency, and I believe that this is a distinct step in that direction."

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CHAPTER VIII

ARGUMENTATIVE TYPES: DEDUCTION

I. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF ARGUMENTATIVE TYPES. II. THE PROCESS OF REASONING BY INDUCTION AND DEDUCTION. III. ARGUMENT FROM DEDUCTION. IV. RELATION OF INDUCTION TO DEDUCTION. V. THE TYPICAL FORM OF DEDUCTIVE REASONING: THE SYLLOGISM. VI. THE CATEGORICAL SYLLOGISM. VII. THE DISJUNCTIVE SYLLOGISM. VIII. THE HYPOTHETICAL SYLLOGISM. IX. MODIFIED FORMS OF THE SYLLOGISM. X. NONSYLLOGISTIC ARGUMENTS. XI. PRACTICAL USE OF SYLLOGISTIC REASONING

I. Importance of the Study of Argumentative Types

Since proof is derived from both evidence and argument, it is highly important that you should be able to classify the types of argument and to test the validity of each type. Such knowledge and skill you will apply to test the validity both of your own arguments and of those of your rivals.

II. The Process of Reasoning by Induction and Deduction

Argument, described earlier as the explorative process by which we advance from premises to conclusions, is from this point of view synonymous with reasoning. The reasoning process, or the process of inference, is carried out by two methods: induction and deduction.

III. Argument from Deduction

Deductive reasoning is the complement of induction. In deduction we proceed from a general truth in the premise to a particular truth in the conclusion, whereas in induction we argue from a number of particular premises to a general conclusion. We assume a general principle or classification and assert a definite conclusion about a person, event, or thing to be found within that classi-

fication or under that principle. For example, we may reason that all nations that have developed the imperialistic policy have been destroyed; that the United States has developed an imperialistic policy; and that the United States will be destroyed. It should be noted that the deduction is no stronger than the induction upon which the deduction contained in the premise is based.

IV. Relation of Induction to Deduction

To illustrate the difference between these two types, compare the following examples:

INDUCTION

I. The Eighteenth Amendment is violated in New York State.
II. The Eighteenth Amendment is violated in Illinois.
III. The Eighteenth Amendment is violated in California.

Therefore the Eighteenth Amendment is violated in every state in the United States.

DEDUCTION

The Eighteenth Amendment is violated in every state in the United States. Therefore it is violated in New York State.

Since induction of some truth, fact, hypothesis, or postulate must proceed from assumptions, deduction is clearly present in all inductive inferences. On the other hand, every deduction is established by inductive methods. For you to treat these two as if they were antagonistic or widely separated indicates a failure to understand each. Reasoning is in each case both deductive and inductive and can be described as either deductive or inductive according to the point of view from which it is examined.

V. The Typical Form of Deductive Reasoning: The Syllogism

Although care must be taken not to limit deduction to syllogistic reasoning, the typical form of reasoning from a general truth in the premise to the particular conclusion is contained in the

syllogism. A syllogism is a set of three propositions: a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. The premises are so called because they contain a common term; the conclusion is so called because it presumably results from a comparison made in the premises between the two terms contained in the conclusion and a third term, called the middle term.

VI. The Categorical Syllogism

***A.* Organization of the Categorical Syllogism.** The first type of the syllogism to be considered is the categorical syllogism. In this type the conclusion and both premises are categorical propositions. A categorical proposition defines, classifies, asserts without qualification. The following is an example of a categorical syllogism:

I. All voters are at least twenty-one years of age.
II. Mary Milo is a voter.
III. Mary Milo is at least twenty-one.

The syllogism above consists of three statements and three terms. The major premise is so designated because it contains the major term; the minor premise contains the minor term. This syllogism may be organized in different ways; we are concerned with the typical form above because to this form we attempt to reduce arguments in order to test them properly. The names of the terms and their relative positions may be illustrated by the following example:

	Middle Term	Major Term
Major premise.	I. All college men	believe in intercollegiate football.
	Minor Term	Middle Term
Minor premise.	II. Algernon Aldergate	is a college man.
	Minor Term	Major Term
Conclusion.	III. Algernon Aldergate	believes in intercollegiate football.

Each proposition is composed of two terms; in no proposition does each term appear more than once. The major term represents belief in intercollegiate football. The minor term represents the concrete instance about which the conclusion is

drawn — Algernon Aldergate. The middle term is the mediating or connecting link which enables us to place the minor term within the field of the major term. It thus disappears in the conclusion.

***B*. Special Rules for the Categorical Syllogism.** Logic recognizes the following general rules for the syllogism:

1. *A syllogism must contain three propositions:* major premise, minor premise, *and* conclusion.

2. *A syllogism must contain three terms and only three terms: the* major term, *the* middle term, *and the* minor term. This rule means that each of the three terms must appear in two of the six occasions in a syllogism when a term is necessary. Those who construct syllogisms often use more than three terms. An illustration of the use of four terms would be as follows:

I. Whatever lowers the standard of scholarship in the university should be condemned.
II. Fraternities at White College lower the standard of scholarship.
III. Fraternities should be condemned.

In this proposition "should be condemned" is a major term; "Whatever lowers the standard of scholarship" is the middle term; "Fraternities at White College" is the minor term; and in the conclusion "Fraternities" is the use of the minor term in a broader sense, so that this term is a different one from the minor term found in the minor premise. In other words, the proposition above contains four terms.

To construct a syllogism arrange the major term as the predicate of the major premise. The other term of this major premise is the middle term. The subject of the minor premise is the minor term, and the predicate of the minor premise is the middle term. The subject of the conclusion is the minor term, and the predicate is the major term. In the correctly stated categorical syllogism the terms thus occupy the following relative positions:

I. Middle term — Major term.
II. Minor term — Middle term.
III. Minor term — Major term.

3. *The middle term of the syllogism must be distributed in at least one of the premises.* A distributed term is not a term that is scattered throughout premises and conclusion; rather it is a term that is used universally, broadly, or in its widest meaning. The qualifying adjective which symbolizes *universal* is *all* or *every*.

The following example illustrates the violation of this rule:

I. Some students of this university have a knowledge of Greek.
II. Percival Pinkerton is a student of this university.
III. Percival Pinkerton has a knowledge of Greek.

The term *students* is obviously undistributed. Therefore we are not justified in placing the minor term within the middle term. The *undistributed middle* is called the *illicit middle.*

4. *No term can be distributed in the conclusion unless it is distributed in one of the premises.* An undistributed major term is called the *illicit major.* The following illustration contains an illicit major:

I. All soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force receive bonuses.
II. No school teachers are soldiers.
III. No school teachers receive bonuses.

"Bonuses" in the major premise are not, as implied, *all* bonuses. Compare this example with the following, in which the minor term is undistributed:

I. All followers of Plato are idealists.
II. All followers of Plato are Greeks.
III. All Greeks are idealists.

"Greeks" in the minor premise does not include "All Greeks."

5. *No valid conclusion can be drawn from two negative premises.*

I. All beer is not intoxicating.
II. All elderberry wine is not beer.
III. All elderberry wine is not intoxicating.

As a matter of fact, elderberry wine, although not like beer, may on occasion be most intoxicating.

6. *If one premise is negative, the conclusion must be negative; and we cannot have a negative conclusion unless one of the premises is negative.* Thus:

I. Americans do not believe in monarchical government.
II. John Jones is an American.
III. John Jones does not believe in monarchical government.

7. *The alleged facts of each premise should be verified.* The syllogism should be tested not only for form but for substance. Before a conclusion is drawn, the accuracy of the preceding statements should be carefully tested. The following syllogism will illustrate the application of the rule:

I. Whatever plan will prevent strikes should be adopted.
II. Compulsory arbitration will prevent strikes.
III. Compulsory arbitration should be adopted.

A labor unionist and others would deny that "whatever plan will prevent strikes should be adopted." Furthermore many students would question whether "compulsory arbitration will prevent strikes."

VII. The Disjunctive Syllogism

***A.* Organization of the Disjunctive Syllogism.** The disjunctive syllogism is a syllogism which has as the major premise a disjunctive proposition. A disjunctive proposition is one in which alternative possibilities are stated. The connectives are *either* and *or*. The following syllogism has for its major premise a disjunctive proposition:

I. Either the high protective tariff or overproduction was responsible for the post-war plight of the Mid-West farmer.
II. The protective tariff was not responsible.
III. Overproduction was responsible for the plight of the Mid-West farmer.

The major premise here states two possibilities; the minor premise is a categorical proposition which denies one of the alternatives; and the conclusion is a categorical proposition which affirms the other possibility.

***B.* Tests of the Disjunctive Syllogism.** Four tests are to be applied to determine the validity of these syllogisms:

1. *Are the possibilities enumerated exhaustive?* The validity of the syllogism depends upon the completeness with which the possibilities have been enumerated. The entire field must be described. Consider the following example:

I. The United States must either annex Mexico or establish a protectorate over it.
II. The United States must not annex Mexico.
III. The United States must establish a protectorate over that country.

Other possibilities at once occur: (1) we may have merely a policy of doing nothing about that country; or (2) if we think affairs there warrant, we may intervene temporarily. Other policies may occur to the student of the situation.

It is difficult to state disjunctives which do exhaust the possibilities. Examine the following syllogisms:

I. Either the state universities must have more funds or they must curtail their educational work.
II. The state universities must not curtail their educational work.
III. The state universities must have more funds.

It would of course be possible for higher institutions to develop their educational work by a redistribution of their funds.

I. Either Germany or Serbia started the World War.
II. Serbia did not start the World War.
III. Germany did so.

Some people would say that Russia or France was the instigator.

2. *Are the possibilities enumerated in the major premise mutually exclusive?* The process of eliminating the possibilities in order to find the real cause means also the necessity for arriving at a division in which the possibilities do not overlap. Note in the following example that the alternatives have elements in common:

I. Either we must reduce armaments or decrease the navy.
II. We must reduce armaments.
III. We must not decrease the navy.

It is presumed that *armaments* would include naval armaments. A scientific definition of each term becomes necessary if the major premise is to be logically framed.

Consider the validity of the following cases:

I. Either Wallace or Darwin originated the theory of evolution.
II. Wallace did not originate it.
III. Darwin originated it.

I. Either the European nations will pay the war debts owing the United States or European international credit will decline.
II. The European nations will pay their war debts owing the United States.
III. The European international credit will not decline.

I. Either Washington or Lincoln was the greatest American.
II. Washington was the greatest American.
III. Lincoln was not the greatest American.

I. Either the United States will repeal the legislation prohibiting Japanese immigration into this country or a war will take place.
II. War will not take place.
III. The United States will repeal the legislation prohibiting the Japanese immigration into this country.

3. *If the minor premise affirms one of the possibilities does the conclusion deny the other?* It is clear that if the minor premise affirms a possibility, a valid conclusion follows only if the other possibility is ruled out.

4. *If the minor premise denies one of the possibilities does the conclusion affirm the other?*

A disjunctive proposition which fails to meet any one of the above tests is imperfect. Although disjunctive propositions are used widely in everyday reasoning, it is rare for the reasoning to be sound. Almost invariably the alternative overlaps or other possibilities are overlooked.

VIII. The Hypothetical Syllogism

***A.* Organization of the Hypothetical Syllogism.** This syllogism is so called because the major premise is a hypothetical proposition. A hypothetical proposition is one in which the chief assertion is conditioned. The sentence is complex in structure and the dependent clause is a condition. The conditional clause is called the *antecedent* and the main clause the *consequent.* The proposition thus implies a cause-to-effect relationship. The major premise is a hypothetical proposition, the minor premise is a categorical proposition which affirms or denies either the antecedent or the consequent of the major premise, and the conclusion affirms or denies that antecedent or consequent not affirmed or denied in the minor premise. Note the following illustrations:

I. If the peace of the Western Hemisphere is to be maintained, the United States must retain the Monroe Doctrine.
II. The peace of the Western Hemisphere is to be maintained.
III. The United States must retain the Monroe Doctrine.

Here the minor term affirms the antecedent, and the conclusion affirms the consequent.

I. If the United States joins the World Court, international law will be accepted as a substitute for international war.
II. The United States will not join the World Court.
III. International law will not be substituted for international war.

In this example the minor premise denies the antecedent; and the conclusion, the consequent.

I. If the United States is to endure, the American people will retain their idealism.
II. The American people will retain their idealism.
III. The United States will endure.

In this case the minor premise affirms the consequent; and the conclusion, the antecedent.

I. If the Republican party wins in the next national election, that party will declare itself in favor of reducing taxes.
II. That party will not declare itself in favor of reducing taxes.
III. The Republican party will not win in the next national election.

In this case the minor premise denies the consequent; and the conclusion, the antecedent.

B. **Tests of the Hypothetical Syllogism.** These examples make clear that (1) if the minor premise affirms the antecedent, the conclusion must affirm the consequent; (2) if the minor premise denies the consequent, the conclusion must deny the antecedent; (3) no reliance can be attached to a conclusion based upon a denial of the antecedent or an affirmation of the consequent. To be valid, the conclusion should either affirm the antecedent or deny the consequent.

An invalid hypothetical syllogism results when we deny the antecedent, because we are uncertain whether the antecedent as described is the only condition which will lead to the consequent assigned. Other antecedents or causes may also lead to this consequent. Therefore to deny this one antecedent gives no justification for denying others that have not been considered. Whenever an antecedent is denied, it is necessary to deny every antecedent. Thus in the example quoted above concerning the relation of the United States to the World Court the syllogism is probably invalid because the antecedent is denied. In spite of the fact that the United States fails to enter the World Court, international law may be substituted for international war. The syllogisms might properly represent other possibilities or conditions:

1. If the United States dominates the economic policies of European nations, international law will be a substitute for international war.
2. If the United States leads the nations in a program of disarmament, international law will be a substitute for international war.
3. If the nations educate their peoples to understand the futility of wars, international law will be a substitute for international war.

If only one of these antecedents is affirmed as true, the affirmation of the consequent follows. On the contrary, if only one of these conditions is denied, we are certainly not justified in denying the consequent, for in such case we ignore the possible influence of another antecedent in establishing the fact that law may be a substitute for force.

To affirm the consequent also leads to illogical reasoning, for the consequent may result from other antecedents than the one considered. Why should the affirmation of one consequent justify you in affirming that since one consequent is true all others are eliminated? Logically, we assume a number of antecedents. In the example above, to assert that "international law will be a substitute for international war" is no warrant for asserting that therefore the United States will enter the World Court.

The result might be due to any one of many other causes, such as the fact that the United States might lead the other nations in a program of disarmament, or that the nations might carry out a program of education in regard to the futility of war. But if we know that international law is not a substitute for war, we are logically justified in asserting that "the United States has not led the nations in a program of disarmament." In the example cited above concerning the idealism of the American people, to declare that "the American people will retain their idealism" and therefore will endure, is to ignore the fact that causes other than the retention of idealism are to be reckoned with. A comet or an earthquake might blot out the race, regardless of American idealism.

The tests to be applied are as follows:

1. When the minor premise affirms the antecedent, does the conclusion affirm the consequent?

2. When the minor premise denies the consequent, does the conclusion deny the antecedent?

3. Is the conclusion derived from a denial of the antecedent?

4. Is the conclusion derived from an affirmation of the consequent?

IX. Modified Forms of the Syllogism

***A.* The Enthymeme.** The enthymeme is a syllogism in which one of the premises or the conclusion is absent.

1. *Three Orders.* An enthymeme with the major premise missing is an enthymeme of the *first order*; one with the minor premise suppressed is an enthymeme of the *second order*; one with the conclusion lacking is an enthymeme of the *third order*. Examples of each follow:

First order. War is an evil and should be abolished.

Second order. These people are Americans, for all who are natives of Georgia are Americans.

Third order. Whoever denies the existence of a personal God is an atheist, and he denies the existence of a personal God.

Each of these expressed in the form of a full-fledged categorical syllogism would be:

I. Whatever is an evil should be abolished.
II. War is an evil.
III. War should be abolished.

I. All who are natives of Georgia are Americans.
II. These people are natives of Georgia.
III. These people are Americans.

I. Whoever denies the existence of a personal God is an atheist.
II. He denies the existence of a personal God.
III. He is an atheist.

2. *Construction of the Syllogism from the Enthymeme.* The enthymeme, we remind ourselves, is to be converted into a *categorical* syllogism for purposes of testing. The first step is to put down the conclusion. It is usually obvious, even if absent, as in the case given above in which "he is an atheist" was so obvious as hardly to need statement. If present, the conclusion is clearly shown by such expressions as *therefore*, which points forward to the conclusion, or *for* and similar expressions of causal reasoning,

which refer to the conclusion as preceding the reason therefor. The conclusion has for its predicate the major term; and for its subject, the minor term. Each term is next placed in its appropriate premise — the minor term as the subject of the minor premise, the major term as the predicate of the major premise. The middle term may be easily supplied from the context.

To illustrate, let us convert the statement "Blessed are the meek" in the conclusion. Correctly placed, it reads, "The meek are blessed." "Meek" becomes the subject of the minor premise, and "are blessed" the predicate of the major premise. Thus we have the terms as follows:

I. ? ____ are blessed.
II. Meek ____?
III. Meek are blessed.

"They shall inherit the earth" becomes the middle term. Stated as a universal, we have as the completed major premise, "All who inherit the earth are blessed," and as the minor premise, "The meek inherit the earth."

***B.* Chains of Reasoning.** Many arguments are complex, made up of a series of syllogisms or of enthymemes. The conclusion of one syllogism becomes a premise for the next. This type of argument is called a *chain of reasoning*. The problem is to organize the assertions into full syllogisms and to test each syllogism. Here is a characteristic example:

I. All transgressions of the law ought to be punished.
II. Drinking alcohol is a transgression of the law, for it is a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment.
III. Drinking alcohol ought to be punished.

The chains of reasoning would be arranged into two complete syllogisms, as follows:

I. Whatever is a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment is a transgression of the law.
II. Drinking alcohol is a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment.
III. Drinking alcohol is a transgression of the law.

I. All transgressions of the law ought to be punished.
II. Drinking alcohol is a transgression of the law.
III. Drinking alcohol should be punished.

C. **Sorites.** The *sorites* is a special kind of chain of reasoning, consisting of a series of syllogisms in which "the two terms of the conclusion are united through the mediation of more than one intervening or connecting term." [1] An example follows:

Whoever lives in America enjoys seeing American plays.
Whoever enjoys seeing American plays appreciates literary art.
Whoever appreciates literary art has culture.
Therefore whoever lives in America has culture.

The chain of reasoning needs to be reduced to a series of syllogisms; thus:

I. Whoever enjoys seeing American plays appreciates literary art.
II. Whoever lives in America enjoys seeing American plays.
III. Whoever lives in America appreciates literary art.

I. Whoever appreciates literary art has culture.
II. Whoever lives in America appreciates literary art.
III. Whoever lives in America has culture.

X. Nonsyllogistic Arguments

Many arguments, cast in the form of categorical propositions, cannot be reduced to syllogistic form. They are called nonsyllogistic arguments. These are arguments dealing with space, relations of time, quantity, and causality. Many of these arguments are used in daily reasoning. For example: (time) The World War took place after the Spanish-American War; the Spanish-American War took place after the Civil War; therefore the World War took place after the Civil War.

In reference to all of these irregular arguments it should be especially emphasized again that, whereas they have no real middle term and are

[1] B. H. Bode, *An Outline of Logic*, p. 78. Henry Holt and Company.

not conformable to the rules of the syllogism, nevertheless their validity does depend on whether they correctly exhibit an actual implicative system or inferential whole. Unless such a real system is assumed . . . as well as in the arguments used to exemplify space, time, and quantity, the argument falls to the ground.[1]

XI. Practical Use of Syllogistic Reasoning

Most of the arguments passed about in everyday life and in school and college debates are based upon assumptions not directly stated. For example, we argue in favor of the American newspaper because we claim that it is necessary for the protection of democracy. Perhaps only after some opposing speaker asks, "But do we need democracy?" do we realize that our argument was based upon a syllogism, the major premise of which would read, "Whatever would protect democracy is necessary." Or we argue that we ought to support the League of Nations because it is the best single agency in the international world for promoting peace. Someone challenges the logic, "But do we want peace rather than war?" The practical problem of the debater is to translate into syllogisms the numerous enthymemes making up an argument, and then to test those propositions, particularly the major premise, making up the syllogism. Demagogues, shallow debaters, and superficial thinkers need to have their ideas subjected to the methods outlined in this chapter and so exposed for the illogical and therefore untenable ideas they often are. The study and use of syllogisms, far from being merely an academic discipline coming to us from medieval schoolmen, is a most practical aspect of the study of argument. You will find more and more delight and satisfaction in so analyzing your own and other people's arguments.

[1] D. S. Robinson, *The Principles of Reasoning*, p. 158. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1924.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Bring to class two examples of inductive reasoning; two examples of deductive reasoning.

2. Hand in one satisfactory example of each of the following: categorical syllogism, disjunctive syllogism, hypothetical syllogism, enthymeme, chain of reasoning, sorites.

3. In each of the following examples reduce the argument to a syllogism:

a. The political parties in this country should be realigned, for they no longer reflect the needs and demands of the people, and we know that any political party should reflect these needs and demands.

b. The Federal government should be gradually reorganized so as to substitute the cabinet system for the present congressional system. The present form fails to bridge the gap sufficiently between the executive and legislative branches of government. Such union of the branches is necessary if the government is to function efficiently, if it is to represent the will of the people, and if it is to have sufficient stability.

c. Prohibition is highly desirable because it has increased the savings accounts of America, and whatever agency leads to accumulation of savings is highly desirable.

d. The certificate plan of admission to college is unjust, for it certainly excludes many desirable candidates who have not had opportunity to attend certain private schools and thus receive certification by a short cut, and anything which leads to injustice should be changed.

e. The plan of examination for admission to college is unjust and should not be exclusively used for admission, for it requires candidates to undergo a most grueling strain of writing for three days, usually in hot weather. Any plan which tests so rigidly the candidate's physical and nervous condition is unjust.

f. Sunday concerts for the working people should not be continued, for many rowdies are attracted, the music is of a low character, and the expense involved is not justified.

g. The free-textbook system should be discontinued, for it is unjust to many taxpayers. It adds unduly to the school tax of many who have no children in school.

h. Revolvers, narcotics, and automobiles were named by Chief City Magistrate William McAdoo to a delegation of Chicago prison officials

as the greatest contributors to crime. The pistol, he declared, is the curse of the American nation. Legislate pistols out of existence, he suggested. The daily murders reported in New York and elsewhere would be averted if pistols could be placed beyond the reach of the people.

3. Outline, and explain to the class, the general method, inductive or deductive, used by Huxley in "On a Piece of Chalk."

4. Be prepared to discuss Poe's methods of reasoning as illustrated in his stories "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Mystery of Marie Roget."

5. Write two argumentative paragraphs, one deductive, the other inductive, on one of the following propositions:

a. This state should establish a board of censorship of moving pictures.

b. This city should establish a municipal theater.

c. This school (or college) library should be open on Sunday.

d. The lecture system in college courses should be discontinued.

e. The local streets should be more adequately lighted.

f. All cats should be licensed.

6. Reduce to syllogistic form the following statements, and bring to class for criticism:

a. The laws prohibiting the speeding of automobiles should be repealed, for they cannot be enforced.

b. Smith is a freshman, and therefore wears a green cap.

c. All bootleggers are thieves and cutthroats, and we have proof that Smith bootlegs home brew.

d. Whatever is good for the United States is good for Iowa; therefore the latest Federal education bill is good for Iowa.

e. Zoöphytes have no flowers; therefore they are not plants.

7. Make complete syllogisms of each of the following conclusions:

a. That poem is by Wordsworth.

b. That man is well educated.

c. Coeducation is a failure.

d. One man in his time plays many parts.

e. A five-year college course for women is necessary.

f. Mail-order houses should be prohibited.

g. Every community of five thousand or more should provide a municipal dance hall.

8. Indicate the order of each of the following enthymemes. Supply the missing premise (or conclusion). Explain whether the syllogism is valid or invalid. If it is invalid, explain why.

a. War is a means of promoting national progress, and therefore should be encouraged.

b. Radishes are vegetables, and fish are not radishes.

c. These students are football players and therefore brave.

d. The American Revolution was long and terrible, for all struggles for liberty are so.

e. You, as you are old and reverend, should be wise.

f. Those who study argumentation and debate are more likely to be good reasoners, and Jonathan Wild studies argumentation and debate.

9. Apply the tests for hypothetical syllogisms to the following; if the syllogism is invalid, explain why.

a. If reforestation in the Mississippi Valley is not accomplished, Mississippi River floods will continue. Mississippi River floods will continue. Reforestation of the Mississippi Valley will not be accomplished.

b. If you failed to attend the university play, *Hamlet*, you made a great mistake. You failed to attend the university play. You made a great mistake.

c. If our university football team wins the next game, we shall have the Big Ten Conference championship. Our football team will win the next game. We shall have the Big Ten championship.

d. If the Republican party continues to have the backing of big business, the Republicans will continue to rule in American politics. The Republican party will continue to have the backing of big business. The Republicans will continue to rule in American politics.

10. Apply the tests to the following disjunctive syllogisms. If the syllogisms are invalid, explain why.

a. Mountains are either *original* or *relict*. The Appalachian Mountains are relict. They are not original. (D. S. Robinson, *The Principles of Reasoning*, p. 175. D. Appleton and Company, 1924.)

b. Either you must refrain from purchasing an automobile or you must expect to save little money. You must not refrain from purchasing an automobile. You must expect to save little money.

11. Examine a printed interscholastic or intercollegiate debate for the chains of reasoning. Reduce five of the leading arguments to categorical syllogisms, and test the reasoning.

12. Apply the rules for a satisfactory categorical syllogism to the following:

a. All Italians are musical. Giovanni Giotto is an Italian. Giovanni Giotto is musical.

b. Well-educated men are servants of the people. Clergymen are servants of the people. Clergymen are well-educated men.

c. No immoral plays should be produced. This play is not immoral. This play should be produced.

d. Some gardens are filled with primroses. This is a garden. This garden is filled with primroses.

e. All students who drive automobiles in university towns should be separated from the institution. The students of Kingstown University drive automobiles in the university town. The students should be separated from the institution.

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CHAPTER IX

ARGUMENTATIVE TYPES: INDUCTION

I. INDUCTION. A DESCRIPTION OF THE GENERAL SYSTEM. II. PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF INDUCTION. III. ASSUMPTIONS OF INDUCTION. IV. CLASSIFICATION OF INDUCTIVE ARGUMENT. V. ARGUMENT FROM SPECIFIC INSTANCES (ARGUMENT BY GENERALIZATION). VI. ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY. VII. ARGUMENT FROM CAUSAL RELATION. VIII. ARGUMENT FROM ANALOGY

I. Induction. A Description of the General System

In inductive argument we proceed for a particular premise or statement to a general conclusion. We examine a number of concrete instances and then make a general statement which covers the field of these instances. Or we attempt to discover and express some general principle or law which arises from the concrete facts. This method is not so much that of leaping across a great chasm or gap, from the known to the unknown, as it is a method of discovering the general law or describing the general system in which the facts are placed.

But mere experience, mere enumeration, mere observation of the data resulting from analysis and experimentation is not enough. The mind must see as well as the eye. The underlying system of connections, in which each separate fact and datum lives and moves, must be brought to light. . . . When theorizing brings the system to light, the law is discovered.[1]

II. Practical Application of Induction

***A.* Reasoning from the Facts of General Experience.** In practical experience we are constantly drawing such general conclusions from observation of particular truth or truths. We have driven

[1] D. S. Robinson, *The Principles of Reasoning*, pp. 211–212. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1924.

Gyro automobiles for the past ten years. We conclude, "Gyro automobiles are dependable." Again we spent ten years in northern Maine and found the winters comparatively severe. We conclude, "Northern Maine winters are quite cold." Still again in our travels abroad we discover, or think we discover, in England a strong sentiment in favor of universal peace. In France, Germany, and Italy we meet leaders who express vigorous sentiment in favor of peace, and attend meetings of organizations that are supporting peace movements. We proceed to Egypt, India, and Japan and note similar movements and pacific activities. We return to America announcing, "The world today, despite the hostilities occasionally outcropping, is moving in the direction of universal peace."

The cases above illustrate the typical method of inductive reasoning. In the first case, we had satisfactory experience with four different automobiles manufactured by the Gyro Company and had reached a conclusion regarding thousands of machines turned out by this company over a period of years. In the second case, after ten years' experience we arrived at a conclusion which presumably would apply to thousands of years. We stated a general law which seemed to cover every Maine winter. In the same way observations in the United States, England, Germany, France, Italy, Egypt, India, and Japan — eight countries in all — led us to a conclusion which applied to all countries, including many that we had not observed. Thus do we arrive at general conclusions by an observation of concrete particulars or by describing a universal or *implicative* system into which the cases fit.

***B.* Reasoning and Student Routine.** So do we arrive at many conclusions that govern our daily routine. Students report to the eight-o'clock class because they have found through previous experience that the instructor almost invariably appears at that time. Study is necessary in order to remain at the university. Does not the fact that the railway station is filled with trunks after each semester examination indicate that examinations must be passed? Again, one thousand students at our university

who have been examined show an intelligence rating of 125 in a mental test, a high average, let us say. We therefore conclude that the six thousand students in our university are all highly intelligent.

C. Inductive Reasoning and Student Arguments. In the same way we apply continually in student arguments the inductive process. Suppose the proposition is, RESOLVED, *That Congress should enact a law embodying the essential provisions of the Huber unemployment law*, which proposition provides that any employer employing six or more persons shall be required to contribute to an unemployment insurance fund, out of which fund the workers when laid off shall receive compensation. The advocates of the plan could show that the plan would lessen the turnover in industries, because in a number of cases cited such turnover had been lessened, as in Swift and Company, the Dennison Manufacturing Company, the United States Radiator Company, and the Procter and Gamble Company. Similarly various other conclusions, such as "There is great unemployment in America today," "This plan will lessen overproduction in industry," "This plan works well in England," and so on, all bearing on the general proposition, could be established by inductive methods. Practical debate uses continually this type of argument.

III. ASSUMPTIONS OF INDUCTION

We should keep in mind that inductive reasoning always assumes that (1) what is found to be true of the instances given will always be true of other similar instances, (2) that nature is an ordered system or that the universe is a systematic and ordered whole, (3) that law operates in an absolute and unbroken reign.

What basis have we for assuming that there is uniformity of this kind in nature, that a given situation will yield definite consequences, and that for every set of circumstances there are antecedents which account for them? This question leads at once to one of the funda-

mental aspects of the universe in which we find ourselves. We discover, as we look about in nature, that events do not just happen without any relation to preceding or succeeding events, but that certain sequences in events take place over and over again. We see lightning, and we hear thunder. We are assured that every time we hear thunder, lightning has previously been observed. When we swat flies, they cease to buzz. No matter how many we swat, provided we swat vigorously and accurately enough, the same result will occur. These two examples are but typical of the myriads that occur in nature. Our life is one long course of discovery of these invariable sequences, these fixed patterns of events, that form so essential a part of our experience. They are, in fact, precisely that feature of our universe that makes it an ordered cosmos rather than a mere chaos, in which lightning might be followed now by thunder, now by cream cheese, and now by purple-bearded tigers. These patterns which force themselves upon our attention, and to the analysis of which the scientist devotes his life, are causal relations, uniform correlations between causes and effects, such that, unless some other cause has prevented it, when one part of the pattern is discovered the rest is sure to follow.

How do we know that these patterns exist in nature? Because we have discovered them in our experience, and have found that they repeat themselves again and again. Sometimes, to be sure, exceptions seem to occur, but we have hitherto been able to explain these exceptions as cases in which one pattern entered into and was altered by another pattern. Most bodies, we have found, fall to the earth; but balloons rise. This anomaly is explained by reference to the more general laws of mechanics, which furnish patterns into which we can satisfactorily fit bodies lighter than air. How do we know that these sequences will continue to repeat themselves in the future? Strictly speaking, of course, we don't; it is possible that to-morrow the trump of doom will sound, that the dead will rise, and that all things will be made new — with, it is to be supposed, quite new millennial patterns for events to follow. Yet no man can really believe that such an overthrow will take place; the uniformity of nature, the conviction that things will continue to occur in the same manner as they have hitherto, is undoubtedly the best-founded generalization in the whole range of human experience.[1]

[1] Columbia Associates in Philosophy, *An Introduction to Reflective Thinking* pp. 92–93. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923.

IV. Classification of Inductive Argument

Inductive argument is classified as (1) argument from specific instances, (2) argument from authority, (3) argument from causal relation, (4) argument from analogy.

V. Argument from Specific Instances (Argument by Generalization)

The argument from specific instances is that form of reasoning or inference in which a general conclusion is reached as a result of the examination of concrete instances. It is the most typical form of inductive reasoning, often called *argument from induction* or *argument by generalization*. The assertion is made that the American newspaper is to be condemned because it exaggerates, colors the news, paints a false picture of life. One by one the papers have been examined. In the eyes of the investigator they fail in the test. From the process of observation of the examples the general law or conclusion is stated concerning newspapers as a whole. This is the process of generalization.

***A.* Tests of Argument from Specific Instances.** The following tests are applied in order to determine the validity of these generalizations: (1) Are the instances examined sufficient in number to warrant the generalization? (2) Is a negative instance discoverable? (3) Are the instances typical? (4) Are the facts upon which the generalization is based known to be true? (5) Is any causal connection established?

1. *The Test of Sufficient Instances.* The first test is whether sufficient instances have been enumerated. The problem of determining the number of specific instances that will warrant a general conclusion is no easy one. The number varies with the types of material under examination. To prove that all material bodies fall would need to be verified by examining only a few instances. On the contrary, to assert that every American college has a course in military training would call for an examination of as many cases as possible.

Suppose that you in your preparation for an argument find that during the past year the number of lynchings in Georgia has decreased, that a similar decrease has taken place in Mississippi and in Illinois. These facts would hardly justify you in asserting that lynchings have decreased in all the states of the Union during the past year, because such murders may have increased in other states. The conclusion would stand only if each state were examined. Three states would hardly be a sufficient number to cite, for it may be that coincidence had operated in this case. The conclusion, therefore, would have to be limited to the statement that in the three states mentioned lynchings declined for the year.

This loose method of arguing is continually used. We call it *hasty generalization*. Scientific handling of material will lead you to examine frankly your own conclusions and those of others to decide to what extent chance or guesswork is responsible.

2. *Test of Negative Instances.* The second test is that of considering negative instances, or exceptions. The method of formulating a generalization on the basis of a large number of positive instances, called the *enumerative* method, has so many weaknesses that some logicians condemn it altogether. Bacon called it "puerile, precarious, and exposed to danger from contradictory instances." Accordingly we ask, Are there any exceptions or negative instances? Our constant tendency is to generalize as a result of observing a few positive instances without taking pains to see the exceptions that are observable. A householder has difficulty with the family plumber, who belongs to a union and charges union wages. The householder's conclusion is that labor unions are unreasonable and unjustified. A physician evidently uses bad judgment in a certain case, and the patient dies. The bereaved ones conclude that doctors are stupid, unreliable quacks. The farmer denounces all book agents because one of them fleeced him. One dishonest lawyer, one drunken college student, one backsliding minister, will call forth a series of sweeping generalizations that condemn the entire group to which he belongs. In each of these cases a further examination would no doubt

bring to light many exceptions. And a single negative instance should go far to destroy the argument.

Apply this test to the following argument: All countries today are building navies, for the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan are carrying out extensive naval programs. An examination of Switzerland, however, destroys the value of the argument and leads the speaker or writer to couch his conclusion in less sweeping terms.

3. *Test of Representative Instances.* A third test is that of whether the instances are typical. In considering a large group of cases you will take care to see that the examples selected fairly represent the whole. Fifty students are examined to determine the physical and mental fitness of a thousand students. These fifty samples must not be the exceptionally capable physically or mentally, nor yet the comparatively inefficient ones, but rather those selected from the rank and file. Seven newspapers are examined as illustrating the tendency of the press to feature crime and scandal. The city-manager plan in three cities is reviewed to prove the efficacy of this type of government. Four states are examined to demonstrate the lack of law enforcement in present-day America. In these cases typical newspapers, cities, and states must be selected.

It is difficult for some debaters to resist the temptation to select cases that are especially favorable — to magnify, for example, the single instance of some city that had good fortune with the manager system.

The test means that the cases cited should be without striking variation from the class as a whole. If we are generalizing about diamonds, or college students, or lions, or any other group of objects that may fall within a single class, we may safely do so after inspecting a few cases. All elephants have trunks, all diamonds are hard, all human beings reason, and so on. But not all colleges have debating teams, not all schoolhouses are red, not all senators have red hair. Great discoveries have resulted from an examination of not more than two or three instances.

4. *Test of Accuracy of the Instances.* A fourth test would examine the accuracy of the facts upon which the generalization is based. If the conclusion is drawn that lynching is on the decrease in the United States because during the past year only eighteen cases were reported in the various states, is it true that only eighteen were officially recorded? Sometimes a careful scrutiny of the facts will reveal details or major features of a situation that are inaccurately reported. Many generalizations are based upon newspaper reports which, however zealous the reporters may be to "get the facts," include at times erroneous information.

5. *Test of Causal Connection and of Scientific Analysis.* After the foregoing requirements are met, we still are confronted with the problem of the reasonableness of the conclusion. Mere enumeration, so important in compiling statistics, has its limitations, as illustrated by the fact that variety of cases, if they are typical, is often more important than numbers. The ultimate test of validity is the question: Having subjected the instances to scientific analysis, can you discover the underlying system which explains the relationships?

This system or general law may be more easily detected or tested if you apply the law of causation. Nature is consistent, or, as we say, ruled by the law of causation. Nothing happens by chance. Is there any causal connection between the instances and the conclusion? If we conclude that the four-quarter system in colleges is desirable, because the plan has worked satisfactorily in several instances, we are justified in inquiring whether it is reasonable to expect the plan to operate successfully.

Instances are cited to establish the conclusion that women use the ballot wisely, or that women succeed in professional and business life. A scientific explanation of causes would make the conclusion more reassuring. In a sense our analysis would become an attempt to place woman in the scheme of nature and explain her every action in the light of "fixed patterns in events."

***B.* Generalization and Statistics.** Generalizations are often based upon statistical methods. The word *statistics* is derived

from *state* and indicates the methods used for collecting data and drawing inferences from them that will be of value in the conduct of the state; for example, we have statistics in regard to population, numbers of nationalities, immigration, births and deaths, disease, and so on. The word applies especially to complex data involving large masses of material the essential character and interpretation of which are ordinarily difficult to determine.

The statistical method is based upon the laws of probability: "While in a small number of cases there is irregularity in the observed ratio between the number of times a given event has happened and its failures, still in a large number of instances this ratio tends toward a constant limit." [1]

If, for example, you toss a penny, cast dice, or examine an individual in regard to his health or illness, the probable outcome is hard to predict. If, on the other hand, you tossed a penny a hundred thousand times, you could predict with almost mathematical certainty that in fifty thousand cases heads would appear and in the fifty thousand other cases tails would be uppermost. The probability increases with the number of cases observed. By this method of dealing with large numbers insurance companies are able to reckon results definitely, because the risk which is involved in dealing with an individual sinks to the minimum when applied to large classes of individuals.

Statistics, originally applied in the field of government, are extended into the field of business. Stock reports, information concerning different types of industries, and a thousand other compilations are applied to the advantage of those who possess this statistical knowledge. In the fields of education, psychology, physics, astronomy, and other departments of knowledge the statistical method has come to be widely applied. In fact, statistics are regarded as more or less synonymous with the scientific method.

The following steps characterize the statistical method:

1. *Classification.* The first step in handling statistics is to

[1] J. G. Hibben, "Probability," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Quoted by D. S. Robinson in *The Principles of Reasoning*, p. 235.

arrange a preliminary classification of the material. This classification will vary according to the purpose of the investigation. The same material may be classified in different ways. For example, if you propose an investigation to determine the scholastic standing of intercollegiate debaters in comparison with college students in general, you will need to have as one classification the individual debaters; another, the students in general; another, classification by college subjects; another, classification by college terms or semesters; another, classification by colleges and universities. Since it would be impracticable to gather statistics from every institution and every student since the beginning of intercollegiate debating in 1892, average grades in sample or representative situations would need to be used.

2. *Gathering Statistics.* The second step would be to gather the concrete data in regard to institutions and various types of students. All the grades from the different terms and semesters for the different students would be tabulated.

3. *Arrangement of Statistics.* The next step in the process would be to arrange the material in an orderly series, — a series for each student, — a series according to grades, according to studies, according to time, and according to colleges and universities selected.

4. *Correlation of Results.* The final step would be the correlation which would express the definite difference, expressed as a percentage, between the intercollegiate debaters and college students in general.

Let us consider another illustration of the statistical method. Suppose we are trying to discover what magazines are read by different classes of people in a city, as determined by the income of the readers. The first step would be the process of classification of readers, number of readers in general, classification by income, a classification of magazines, a classification of cities, and so on. Next the statistics would be gathered. Then the material would be ordered into various classes as suggested by the original analysis. Finally the relation of income to type of magazine read would be correlated.

5. *Testing the Statistical Method.* Tests of generalization become the tests of statistics: (1) The instances must be as numerous as possible. (2) The instances must moreover be typical or the sampling systematically done. (3) Exceptions must be carefully noted. (4) The data must be accurately reported. (5) In addition the units must be carefully defined. What is meant by a student, a university, a laborer? (6) The units to be compared must really be comparable. If we compare statistics of crime in New York with those of crime in Illinois, we must be sure that the two sets of figures mean the same thing. If we compare wages, we must know whether we are discussing money wages or real wages in each case. (7) The quantity measured by the statistics must be an index of that about which we want knowledge. We must decide whether numbers of battleships are a true index of the strength of a navy; whether the number of churchgoers is a true index of the power of the church; whether the death rates of cities are a fair index of the health of the country as a whole. He who uses such statistics must prove that a relationship does exist between the facts in the figures and the matter about which he draws conclusions.

VI. Argument from Authority

***A.* The Method in General.** Numerous arguments are based upon direct evidence from authority. The assertion is made that the press exerts a harmful influence on international affairs. Then the reason for the assertion is advanced: "Lord Bryce in his *Modern Democracies* says: 'Press power is more dangerous in the sphere of foreign than in that of domestic policy and is one of the chief hindrances to international good will.'" Here the induction is made that because one authority testifies about a certain fact, that testimony justifies the generalization. The inference is based upon the assumption that whatever the authority, in this case Lord Bryce, says about a specific matter is true. Expressed in complete form, this argument would read:

I. The press exerts a bad influence on international affairs, for
A. Lord Bryce so stated, and
B. Lord Bryce's statement is true.

***B*. Tests of Argument from Authority.** The tests here are those discussed in connection with direct evidence: (1) Is the authority competent? (2) Is the authority prejudiced? (3) Is the authority reliable? (4) Is the authority definite? (5) Is the authority supported by other authorities? (6) Is the authority supported by argument from specific instances, causal relation, and analogy?

Granting that Bryce is competent, unprejudiced on this subject, well balanced, and that his testimony is corroborated by that of other authorities, we ask, *Why* should the power of the press be more dangerous in the sphere of foreign than in that of domestic policy? Is it that in the international realm papers are less well informed and so print items that misrepresent? Is it that papers fail to understand the mind of other peoples and so print statements calculated to inflame? Or, to put the same thing from the other angle, is it that other countries misinterpret news in the foreign press?

VII. Argument from Causal Relation

A form of reasoning more explicit and fundamental than that of argument from specific instance or from authority is argument from causal relation. This type of argument attempts to establish or to imply relationship between two particulars. Argument from causal relation assumes that "nothing happens by chance," and that if certain conditions are known, certain results will undoubtedly follow. Nature acts consistently and uniformly. Every event in the universe results from another event or events. Without this cause it could not operate, and with it the result is inevitable. Day after day during the spring and summer it rains. The inference is that poor crops will follow. The government in war time appoints a food controller. The inference is that prices for food will not soar. A rich business man is murdered. The

probable motive is robbery. The Republican party is returned to power. Its friends predict prosperity. A large wheat crop is raised. The conclusion is that wheat prices will decline and hard times for the farmer will follow. A senator votes against a bill demanded by his constituents. The inference is that the senator will be defeated in the next election.

Although in argument from causality the conclusion is a particular one, the process as described is induction rather than deduction because in every case a generalization is implied. If the conclusion is drawn from a rainy spring that poor crops will follow, the conclusion is based on or implies generalization; namely, that whenever much rain falls in spring and summer, poor crops follow. Whenever rich merchants are murdered, the motive is robbery. Whenever the Republican party comes into power, prosperity follows.

The type of reasoning here involved is, first of all, the establishment of a generalization by the processes described early in this chapter. This generalization becomes the major premise of the syllogism which has for its conclusion the specific statement which we call the *effect.*

For convenience we describe causal relations as being made up of a single act or phenomenon acting upon another phenomenon. These instances we describe as occurring in simple chronological order, but the relationship is far more complicated. It is not so much the matter of one given event affecting another, nor yet a matter of temporal sequence; for we discover that action and reaction are reciprocal, equal, and opposite.

Moreover, causes are so numerous and effects are so numerous that it is impossible to describe these relations in terms of sharp separation between single cause and single effect. The diphtheria germ may cause death, but the group of circumstances operating in this case is too complicated for us to describe causes and results in such simple terms. We are really dealing with a system of events, and this system moves within a larger system, the whole making up a vast pattern. We single out one unit and

call it a *cause*; another, and call it an *effect*. We need to test carefully these relationships before drawing a hard and fast conclusion.

Argument from causality is usually classified as from cause to effect, from effect to cause, or from effect to effect.

***A.* Argument from Cause to Effect.** Argument from cause to effect, *a priori* reasoning, draws a conclusion concerning the effects of an observed phenomenon. It shows that a known fact, event, or phenomenon is of such character as to produce another fact, event, or phenomenon.

For example, we argue that war, except in cases of invasion and internal rebellion, should be declared by a direct vote of the people, because that plan would remove the influence of private and corporate interests in the decision, and so promote peace. Or we argue that declaration of war by the people would jeopardize national safety, because such popular referendum would be too slow and cumbersome. We argue that a Federal amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting child labor in the United States, should be passed, because such a law would do away with migratory child labor and would remove the present burden on high-standard states — the burden of competition between manufacturers in a state that allows child labor and those industrialists in a state that forbids it. Or it could be argued that we should not pass such an amendment, because it would lead to Federal control of education, for every child-labor law regulates education.

In each case we point out a known situation or a group of antecedent circumstances which we argue are sufficient to bring about certain alleged results, the consequents. The known cause, in the first example above, is a popular referendum concerning a declaration of war. The probable effect is (1) the promotion of peace or (2) the jeopardizing of national safety. Various other effects, pro and con, would be cited by those in a debate on this proposition. In the second argument illustrated above, the known or assumed cause is the passage of the Federal child-labor amendment. What are the effects? The affirmative tries to show several

benefits; the negative traces from this cause a list of unfortunate results, one of them Federal control of education.

Each of these cases is an argument from the future to a more remote future; but we may in the same way argue from the present to the future, from the past to the present, or from a more remote to a less remote past.

To test the reasoning from cause to effect we ask:

1. *Can a causal relation be established?* Can it logically be shown that any connection exists between a Federal child-labor amendment and Federal control of education? The Volstead Act has been operating since 1920. Divorces per capita have increased in the United States since that time. Can any causal relation between these two facts be established? On the other hand, bank accounts have increased since that time and more telephones are in use. Those who try to prove desirable results of this Federal law sometimes argue that prohibition has favorably affected bank accounts and has even increased the number of telephones used. Granted that the cause is operating, a second test is necessary:

2. *Is the cause adequate to produce the alleged effect?* Often a given phenomenon may operate but without sufficient force, to use the analogy of physics, to become a controlling cause. Wet feet, although hardly a determining factor, might be one of twenty elements in the development of small pox. The assassination of a prince might start an international war; but a true analysis of the causes of the conflict would make clear that this one act, without the parallel action of a great variety of other forces — militarism, land hunger, racial pride, economic depression, fear of other nations, and so on — would not generate a world war.

3. *Are other causes operating to prevent the known cause from producing the alleged effect?* Again our problem is that of separating one cause from many and eliminating all others as possible factors in preventing the free operation of the known antecedent circumstances. Let us assume for the sake of argument that prohibition, if allowed to proceed unhindered, would result in greater

bank accounts. But what of unemployment, bootleg whisky, war, pestilence, desire for automobiles, and what not, as possible agencies that might interpose themselves to prevent the money, saved through prohibition, from finding its way into the savings account? The general prosperity or easy interest rates or expanding consumption may each argue for a rise in stocks. A causal connection between these factors and a rising market has been established beyond question. Yet the factors at work for and against a rising market are so complicated that an exceedingly hard problem confronts us, namely, of trying to explain whether or not the assigned cause or causes will operate.

4. *Have the alleged facts been verified?* As in all tests of generalization, we must be certain that the facts are accurate.

***B*. Argument from Effect to Cause.** The argument from effect to cause reasons from an observed result to the possible or probable causes. Causation, as was stated above, is a problem in interaction. Whether we are proceeding from cause to effect or from effect to cause is merely a question of our point of view. To reason from effect to cause is to attempt to explain the forces responsible for certain known or assumed circumstances. We view the situation from the angle of consequents rather than that of causes, and the process we call *a posteriori* reasoning; that is, reasoning *from that which comes after*. We observe the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia (effect) and conclude that the fertility of the Nile and the Euphrates (alleged cause) is responsible. Extensive poverty in the city of New York (effect) is due, so we argue, to physical and social environment (alleged cause). The earnings of industries engaged in the manufacture of copper and steel products showed enormous increase in profits between 1914 and 1919 (the known effects). The earnings of the Anaconda Copper Company, for example, during 1914, were $4,500,000; by 1919 it had paid a debt of $15,000,000 and had a surplus of $40,000,000. Similar figures apply to other companies. The explanation of this remarkable prosperity was undoubtedly the war (alleged cause).

The tests here are similar to those of reasoning from cause to effect:

1. *The causal connection must be clearly established.* If the cold summer is attributed to the activity of sun spots, some scientific relationship must be shown between the two phenomena.

2. *The alleged cause must be adequate to produce the known result.* If physical environment is held as the chief explanation of the known result (poverty), what shall we say of degeneracy, disease, intemperance, desertion, old age, indolence, and other factors?

3. *No other cause must have intervened to neutralize the effect of the alleged cause.* General depression sweeps over the country. The situation, it is alleged, is due to the general reduction of the tariff. But this circumstance, it might be argued, would be largely canceled by the lower cost of living, by an increase of production, and a consequent increase in trade. Other causes would be posited in explanation of the known panic in industry, and so the debate would become an attempt to measure the relative power of alleged conflicting causes.

4. *The facts involved must be ascertained as true.* It must be shown that depression actually *exists*, that the cost of living *is* lower, and that the volume of trade *is* larger. In the same way it must be proved that the summer is unseasonably cold and that the sun spots are unusually active.

***C.* Argument from Effect to Effect.** Texts on argumentation and debate usually include a third type of causal reasoning, argument from effect to effect. This type argues from one effect to another effect of the same cause. Such reasoning is a combination of argument from effect to cause and from cause to effect. It has been argued that the northern lights (or aurora borealis) are active and therefore that the summer will be unseasonably cool and damp. The complete argument assumes the aurora borealis as an effect of the activity of sun spots (alleged cause). The cause thus assumed is found to have another effect — cool, damp summers. The presence of one of these phenomena, therefore, is presumably attended by the other. It is argued that since *What*

Every Woman Knows is an excellent play, *Quality Street* is also a drama of high rank. The excellence of *What Every Woman Knows*, it is reasoned, is caused by Barrie's dramatic genius. From this same cause is logically inferred the superiority of the other Barrie play. Consider another example involving a more subtle reasoning. "We are having extremely cold winters," observes one. "We shall have serious floods." The effect (extremely cold winters) is, according to this argument, due to the rapid destruction of forests. This same cause (that is, deforestation) will lead to heavy floods. The reasoning may be illustrated by reducing the argument to syllogisms:

EFFECT TO CAUSE

I. Whenever the winters are extremely cold is a time when forests have been destroyed.
II. This is a time when the winters are extremely cold.
III. This is a time when the forests have been destroyed.

CAUSE TO EFFECT

I. Whenever the forests have been destroyed is a time when serious floods will occur.
II. This is a time when the forests have been destroyed.
III. This is a time when serious floods will occur.

To test the validity of this argument, first reduce the example to two syllogisms, or separate it into its two parts, from effect to cause and from cause to effect. Then apply to each section the tests already outlined in connection with each type of causal reasoning.

VIII. Argument from Analogy

The fourth important division of argument from induction is *argument from analogy*. This type of reasoning assumes that if two things are alike in certain respects, they are probably alike in other respects. A certain proposition, true of a known case, is also affirmed to be true of an unknown case. Analogy is argument

from resemblance, or comparison. The conclusion is a specific one. For example, "Sacramento University has an excellent football team; it is therefore probable that San Joaquin University also has a first-rate football team." The comparison is between two universities, about each of which much is known. We know that Sacramento possesses a winning football team. We know nothing of the athletic teams at the other school. We do know, however, that San Joaquin has a student population as large as Sacramento's and that the two institutions are similar in such other respects as endowment, location, and educational point of view. We therefore conclude that San Joaquin's teams are of similar rank. Expressed syllogistically the argument is as follows:

I. Whatever school is similar to Sacramento University in numbers, location, endowment, and educational outlook possesses an excellent football team.
II. San Joaquin University is similar to Sacramento University in numbers, location, endowment, and educational outlook.
III. San Joaquin University possesses an excellent football team.

***A.* Figurative and Literal Analogy.** Analogy is of two kinds, figurative and literal. *Literal analogy* is that type of comparison based upon a similarity of objects in the same field or class; *figurative analogy* is a comparison between relationships of objects in different fields or classes. The example given above is a literal analogy because the two universities belong to the same class. So would we draw analogies between types of students, between professors, between cities, between countries, between public utilities, or between types of government. As long as none but things within the same field are involved, the argument is one of direct or literal comparison.

Compare such examples with one of *figurative analogy*. "The present system of declaring war by vote of Congress is sound and strong, like a trestle over which twenty trains have passed." Here the method of declaring war by Congress is compared to the passage of trains over a trestle. Congress is the trestle; the rum-

bling trains are the Declarations of war by Congress. We know — or assume — that the trestle has withstood the strain; so do we conclude that Congress — and America — will continue to stand the test of this method of deciding whether we should declare war. Here the comparison is that of a "resemblance of relations."

***B.* Tests of Analogical Reasoning.** Analogy is exceedingly helpful as illustration or explanation. Its use in argumentation has often been deplored. It is nevertheless a type of reasoning to which debaters and scientists alike continually resort. Consider these specific tests for the validity of this type of reasoning:

1. *The Test of Essential Likenesses.* The two objects must be alike in those particulars which affect the conclusion. This means (1) a careful observation and listing of all points of similarity between the two objects or relations under consideration; (2) the listing of all aspects known about one object and not about the other; (3) the selection from the objects known of one and unknown of the other those features likely to be true of both.

The process of comparison is usually not so detailed, but the complete study of the analogy calls for similar systematic scrutiny of the particulars which bear upon the conclusion. "You cannot break up the trusts any more than you can un-scramble eggs" asserted a familiar analogy of a number of years ago. If, the comparison infers, scrambled eggs and consolidated industries have in common a certain cohesion which defies separation, widely different though these objects are, they must closely resemble each other in that particular which affects the conclusion. The problem is not one of enumeration but of selection. And the process of the selection depends upon our judgment in deciding what is an *essential* particular. Any likeness is essential when it is important to prove the case at hand and is to be discussed when its relevancy is clear.

What would be an essential difference between Iowa and Massachusetts concerning the prospects of agriculture would be of minor significance in a comparison of educational standards of these states. A student debater argued that the United States

should enact a law similar to the British Trade Disputes Act of 1906, because that law had worked well in England and therefore would work well here. The essential industrial conditions in each country, it was held, were the same. The negative, however, pointed out that such legislation presupposed highly developed unionism and that that situation would not hold in the United States; for whereas less than 10 per cent of the English workers are engaged in agriculture and more than 60 per cent of all workers are in trade unions, the large proportion of our workers is unorganized and belongs to the agricultural, professional, and business groups. The points of difference in those items bearing on the conclusion outweigh the points of likeness, and — according to the negative — the analogy did not hold.

2. *The Test of Similar Instances.* A second test that may be applied to argument from analogy is the test of similar instances and of negative instances. If the proposal is made to adopt in America the British Trade Disputes Act, it is logical to inquire whether other countries have adopted it. If it can be shown that France or Canada or Australia has had success with similar legislation, then the analogy is more likely to be justified. On the other hand, if a failure of the law can be cited in any country, the analogy is to that extent weakened.

3. *The Test of Causal Connection.* A third test applied to argument from analogy is the test of *causality.* According to this test a definite causal relation must exist between the terms employed in the argument. The general principle or law must be stated and tested, or a series of syllogisms must be constructed to show the causal relation between the terms. For example, it is argued that in 1953 the United States will have a period of economic depression, for this country had periods of business depression in 1873 and 1893. We state the general principle as follows:

I. Great periods of economic depression occur in the United States at intervals of twenty years.
II. The year 1953 is the end of a twenty-year period.
III. Economic depression will occur in 1953.

But the validity of the major premise may be attacked by showing that no marked financial panics occurred in 1833, 1853, or 1913. The general law, therefore, does not provide a causal connection between a period of economic depression and the year 1953. Moreover, it is difficult to construct a series of syllogisms — or chain of reasoning — which would show that the panic of 1893 occurred because that date was twenty years after 1873. It is hard to show that the twenty-year periods, 1853, 1873, 1893, 1913, 1933, are causally connected with the appearance of periods of economic depression. If there is any connection between the facts, it may be set down as coincidence or chance rather than causality. Valid argument by analogy must be based upon some factors more substantial than chance.

4. *The Test of Accuracy of Evidence.* A fourth test of analogical reasoning has to do with the question concerning the accuracy of the facts upon which the analogy is based. The facts alleged to be true in regard to the factors under comparison must be verified. If it is asserted that unemployment insurance should be applied in the United States because that principle has been used with success in England, we should make sure that the law has worked well in that country. In one debate a speaker urged the adoption of a state income-tax law in Nebraska because of the success of that law in Iowa. The next speaker, however, made clear that Iowa possessed no such law. The analogy failed because one of the factors was untrue.

No safeguard against false analogy is more necessary than a thorough knowledge of the facts underlying the analogy. The drift of the discussion is almost invariably in favor of the one who has the most complete and accurate information of the subject matter. A temptation to yield to coloring of facts or suppression of unfavorable elements should be resisted. The alleged facts must be fairly and accurately stated. Genuine discussion is to be carried out in such scientific spirit.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Hand to the instructor one sound example of each of the following: (1) argument from specific instance; (2) argument based upon the use of statistics; (3) argument from authority; (4) argument from cause to effect; (5) argument from effect to cause; (6) argument from literal analogy; (7) argument from figurative analogy.

2. Hand to the instructor an example of unsound argument illustrating each of the following: (1) argument from specific instance; (2) argument from cause to effect or from effect to cause; (3) argument from analogy. Indicate the source of your example.

3. In each of the following cases explain the kind of argument and determine the validity of the reasoning by applying each of the tests listed in this chapter:

a. A humble beginning means great success in life. Jacob Gould Schurman, former president of Cornell University, worked during his boyhood in a grocery store on Prince Edward Island, for sixty dollars a year.

b. Do you admire O'Neill's *Hairy Ape*? Then you should see his later play, *The Great God Brown.*

c. The Supreme Court of the United States is uniformly progressive in its decisions. During the twenty-five years from 1887 to 1912 the Supreme Court examined five hundred and sixty cases which involved a state law concerned with social justice, and the court declared only three of these cases unconstitutional. The best proof of this court's success in dealing with new and advancing social conditions is its decisions.

d. You are sure to have bad luck, for you bought that auto on Friday, June the thirteenth.

e. Dr. Bunnion's Golden Remedy is a sure cure for coughs and colds, as the following statement will show:

> Chicago, September 1. Gentlemen: Last spring I was greatly troubled with pains and a disagreeable cough. After taking two bottles of your wonderful remedy, I was completely restored, and have increased in weight ten pounds.

f. There are more students in Black College, which has no fraternities, than in White College, which maintains six Greek-letter societies. Such secret organizations thus affect the enrollment of students.

g. We read that of all occupations farm life is the most hazardous; in support of this assertion German statistics are cited to show that

45 per cent of all accidents in industry occur among agriculturists, whereas mining, the steel and iron industry, and the building trades each contribute only 9 per cent. There is irresistible fascination in the idea that the man who feeds pigs at night is engaged in a business five times as hazardous as that of the man who bestrides a steel girder forty-five stories in the air.

h. It is neither desirable nor necessary to go into a detailed account of English misrule in Ireland. No more definite indictment against British misrule could be secured than the emigration figures. Ireland, under British misrule, decreased its population one half in the last seventy years, while Poland under Russian rule increased its population fourfold in the same length of time. Moreover, Ireland is the only country in Europe whose population has decreased and is rapidly decreasing. Clearly, English rule didn't succeed in making Ireland an interesting, profitable, or desirable place for the Irish to live in.

i. The granting of complete independence to Ireland would be a signal for the breaking up of the British Empire, and we need only look back over history to know the benefits of this empire. It has given the Western civilization its impetus in liberal ideas of government. Our entire legal system, our common law, our jury system, our writ of habeas corpus, are all products of this civilization.

j. Let us consider another labor problem. According to the latest issue of the *World Almanac*, in a single period of eight years twenty thousand men were killed while mining coal. This unnecessary sacrifice of human life is brought about simply because the private operators in their greed for profit fail to install the proper safety devices. What measures have been installed have been enforced by the states. Down through the years it has been the state's hardest fight to enforce sanitary and safety measures and to prevent child labor in the mining districts. Under government ownership the mines would not be operated for profit, and the government would spare no expense in the installation of safety measures for the protection of the miners.

k. Judge Elbert Henry Gary, at the thirty-first general meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute in Manhattan, said:

> Opportunities in this country are better than ever before — every man must admit this. Never before in my affiliation with the steel industry has there been a time when governmental administration was honestly, sincerely and actually so much interested in the prosperity of the people of the country.

l. Think of it, gentlemen, here we are representing the greatest government on earth, with the greatest natural monopoly on earth, and then say, "We have no machinery of adequate defense." If you will pass this bill and take three million bales of cotton out of the channels of trade, you will see whether or not we have sufficient machinery for adequate defense.

My colleague in a speech on this floor a few days ago stated that we paid to the Chilean government in 1925 the sum of $135,065,000 as a bounty on nitrates alone, and I am advised by the Department of Commerce that we paid in excess of a fair price on rubber and coffee $494,688,000 in 1924, and the estimate for this year, 1926, is that we will pay approximately $1,000,000,000 on these two commodities, each of which enters into practically every home in the United States, and every family, therefore, is called upon to contribute to this enormous bounty. Yet we are told that "we have no machinery of adequate defense."

Gentlemen, the situation reminds me of a 300-pound father standing more than 6 feet in his shoes with a half dozen or more of his own children nestling at his feet. As he stands empty-handed and looks down on them, he sees the pygmy children of his alien neighbors walk up and take the bread from the hands of his helpless offspring; he watches as they remove the shoes from their feet and clothes from their backs, leaving them cold, hungry, and naked; and while his own flesh and blood are writhing in pain and begging their giant father for bread, he is untouched and unmoved by their cries of misery further than to say, "I am sorry for you; these pygmies should not be so cruel and treat you so harshly." What would you think of a father like that?

m. The persistent use of these alcoholic beverages will so lower the vitality of the body that it becomes an easy mark for all forms of microbic diseases. This type of patient stands a very limited chance for recovery from "flu," pneumonia, typhoid fever, and so forth, as evidenced by the heavy toll levied on our apparently healthy young men in the scourge of influenza during the fall and winter of 1918–1919. Physicians in every part of the United States were forced to admit that a large per cent of the young, robust soldiers and home boys who had been regular imbibers, not drunkards, of alcoholic beverages fell an easy victim to these diseases. The registrar of vital statistics of Kansas for the year 1913 gives the accompanying table showing the comparative death rate per 100,000.

	Kansas	United States
Tuberculosis	64.6	149.5
Diabetes	12.9	15.0
Pneumonia	85.5	132.2
Bright's disease	64.5	95.5
Suicides	10.9	16.0
Homicides	4.0	6.5

The comparatively low figures for Kansas are due to the presence of prohibition in that state and the absence of it over the country as a whole in that year (1913). On the basis of such testimony alcoholic beverages should be forever barred from every state!

n. Let me illustrate the idiocy of the argument of the proponents of the World Court. Leprosy has existed throughout the ages. It is the "white curse" of the Orient. Our policy has been to guard ourselves against its contamination by keeping away from leprosy-infected districts and colonies, and by guarding our gates against the entrance of its victims. Nevertheless, occasionally an individual in the United States is afflicted with the disease. Our policy, therefore, has not been entirely successful.

Suppose now some imbecile were to declare that the way to exterminate leprosy is to turn the lepers loose on the community and let everybody visit the leper colonies and purify the lepers by fondling their diseased flesh, and we were to reply that we declined the experiment. Would it lie in the mouths of the proponents of the new doctrine, therefore, to declare that we were in favor of leprosy and that we must accept their imbecilic proposition unless we could invent a nostrum absolutely guaranteed to exterminate the dread disease? We would answer that, although the present methods have not entirely wiped out the curse of leprosy, the proposed remedy would contaminate the world; that our people would lie along the highways rotting with the awful disease. We would say that, although we could not produce a perfect remedy, we nevertheless declined to abandon a method which had confined the disease and lessened its ravages for the foolish and deadly scheme proposed. War is an evil. It has cursed the world through the centuries, but it is brought about by the voluntary actions of nations. Europe and Asia have been its two hotbeds. It is proposed to get us into the World Court and by engulfing us in every European war to lessen war!

o. When I observe from a report of the Bureau of the Census that 27 per cent of the farms in the ten leading cotton-growing states are under mortgage, I am confirmed in the belief that very little prosperity prevails in the cotton belt. And when I take the same report and find that 46.5 per cent of the farms of Kansas, 46.2 per cent of those in Missouri, 54.2 per cent of the farms of Iowa, 52.4 per cent of the farms of Minnesota, 59.1 per cent of those in Wisconsin, 71 per cent of the farms in North Dakota, 57 per cent of those in South Dakota, 37.5 per cent of those in Indiana are mortgaged, I am forced to the conclusion that there is really no prosperity in those states engaged primarily in agriculture, but they are, on the contrary, in a helpless and almost hopeless condition unless they receive substantial aid some way or other.

p. First of all, regarding the racial homogeneity of the Filipino people: They are not divided into tribes as this term is generally understood. The names given to the so-called tribes are really indicative of geographical regions and not of differences in habits of thought or racial origin. They are a homogeneous race. Although, during the last three hundred years, there has been a racial blending as the natural consequence of their social and political intercourse with the peoples of both hemispheres, yet, according to the latest census of the population of the islands, taken in 1918, out of a total population of 10,314,310, 9,936,577, or 96 per cent, belonged to the brown, or Malay, race. In this connection I wish to call the attention of the House to the statement of Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, ex-governor general of the Philippine Islands, published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on March 13, 1926, in which he said: "It is pleasant to find something in which we can agree with Mr. Storey. He is perfectly right in his objection to the use of the word 'tribesmen' in describing the Philippine people. The great mass of the peoples have not those characteristics which we associate with the word 'tribes.'"

q. Ages ago there was a keeper of flocks who was called to lead a vast company out of bondage. This plain man was Moses. He hesitated to accept the great commission that was his, for he had not the gift of speech that was his brother Aaron's. Nor had he armies nor chariots of war. But in the end he won. How? You will recall that when this keeper of flocks held in his hand a shepherd's crook it was asked of him, "What is that in thine hand?" Answering in humility, but following in confidence the instructions given him, Moses saw the crooked stick become a mighty instrument for freedom.

So it is today with the farmer. There is given him to hold in his hand, not a shepherd's staff, but an instrument of far greater strength — the ballot. Rightly used, used in primaries and general elections, this ballot will insure the triumph of right and justice. But it must be used in time, for annually, with fewer people on farms and in the smaller towns and cities and with privilege becoming more powerful, the fight is ever more unequal.

r. While I am on that subject it is said, "Oh, the court is a cooling-off place." How often have we heard that miserable, silly twaddle about a cooling-off place. These gentlemen talk as though nations went to war like two men with their fists. When somebody calls a man a vile name, he hits him before he has time to think. Not a single war of history ever began that way. Nations go to war over great questions that they have thought of for years. There may be a spark that lights the powder magazine; the spark may be small, but they have been gathering that powder for years and for a purpose. Let us take the last war. Does anyone suppose anybody acted there without knowing what he was doing? About a hundred years ago the Elector of Brandenburg began forming the nucleus of the Prussian army. He starved himself and his family and dressed like a peasant in order that he might gather silver through means of taxes wrung from the people. Having no place else to store it, he made solid silver balustrades for his palaces. All the people wondered at him, wearing wooden shoes and peasant's clothes, and placing silver balustrades in the palaces; but when his son, afterwards Frederick the Great, was called to the bedside of the father just before he expired, he whispered in his ear: "My son, you will go to war with Austria. Then you will melt the silver balustrades into dollars." They had been accumulated through the years. The army had been building, built to carry out a policy of enlargement.

Out of that policy, operated by the Elector of Brandenburg more than a hundred years ago, grew Prussia, and from Prussia sprang the great German Empire. The German Empire pursued those policies. She drilled her men; she opened her schools to study every art of war. Chemists were busy night and day devising instruments of destruction, and so evolved the Great War!

s. My opinion is that so much depends upon the use of coal that coal should be treated from a public point of view just as public utilities are treated; and if it is possible within the law to do so, I

would treat it as a public utility. As the gentleman from Massachusetts suggests, it is a public necessity. On this point I will quote from the splendid report of the United States Coal Commission (Vol. I, p. 1): "Coal is quite as much a public necessity as gas, street-railway service, or any other service or commodity that has been brought under public regulation." And, again, the commission hold "the view that a limited natural monopoly like anthracite, held by a relatively small number of individuals, estates, and companies and supplying a necessity of life for millions of our people cannot continue to be treated as if it were not affected by a public interest."

t. In Holland huge dikes are built around the shore line to keep back the sea. Vast areas of that little but brave country are below sea level, and upon these drained lands they have built their national glory. Happy homes are there and prosperity abounds. The streets are full of little children at play and the fields are crowded with the prosperity of harvests. Life is safe so long as the dikes stand — these silent sentinels which they have built to keep back the tides of the sea. But let those dikes break or be punctured and the people will be swept out to sea and to oblivion. So is the Sabbath day. As long as it is observed, happiness and prosperity will abide among us; but when once that wall of defense is punctured or broken through neglect, life itself shall be swept from its moorings. It is our last line of defense. In the maintenance of it rests our safety. God forbid that we should do anything to tear down that institution in which lies the hope of human happiness; restoring strength to the body, fellowship to the family life, keeping our pathway to the eternal stars.

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CHAPTER X

FALLACIES

I. IMPORTANCE OF DETECTING FALLACIES. II. DEFINITION OF FALLACIES. III. CLASSIFICATION OF FALLACIES. IV. THE FALLACY OF EQUIVOCATION. V. THE FALLACY OF AMBIGUOUS CONSTRUCTION. VI. FALLACIES OF THE SYLLOGISM. VII. FALLACIES OF THE ARGUMENT FROM SPECIFIC INSTANCES. VIII. FALLACIES OF ARGUMENT FROM CAUSAL RELATION. IX. FALLACIES OF ANALOGY. X. THE FALLACY OF BEGGING THE QUESTION. XI. THE FALLACY OF IGNORING THE QUESTION

I. Importance of Detecting Fallacies

It is hard to overestimate the importance of recognizing fallacies and of knowing the methods to be used in exposing them. To master the art of discussion and debate, you must be able to apply, both to your own arguments and to those of others, tests that will show the strength and the weakness of the reasoning.

II. Definition of Fallacies

A fallacy is an error in reasoning, an inconsistency in the argument, a false belief whether due to sound reasoning from unsound premises or to unsound reasoning from sound premises, or "any mental confusion whatever." A thoughtful examination of many a specious argument will reveal subtle and elusive fallacies upon which the entire logical framework rests. The most skillful debaters, unless constantly on their guard, will commit these blunders in reasoning. Lincoln clearly established his supremacy in the debates with Douglas by pointing out the flaws in such arguments as "This government was made upon the basis of the sovereignty of the state, and right of each state to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself" and "Slaves are subject to the local law of the territory just like any other property."

III. Classification of Fallacies

Any complete classification of fallacies is probably impossible, for the errors of the mind are so numerous and at times so indistinct as to leave us almost entirely in the dark as to how the illogical reasoning actually occurs. The logician De Morgan concludes, "There is no such thing as a classification of the ways in which men may arrive at error; it is much to be doubted whether there ever can be." [1] For practical purposes of argument the following admittedly incomplete classification is offered:

Equivocation

Ambiguous Construction

The Syllogism

- *A.* The categorical syllogism
  1. Four terms (ambiguous middle)
  2. Two terms (ambiguous middle)
  3. Undistributed middle
  4. Illicit major
  5. Illicit minor
  6. Negative premises
  7. Hasty generalization, or false causation in the premises
- *B.* The disjunctive syllogism
  1. Alternatives not exhaustive
  2. Alternatives not mutually exclusive
- *C.* The hypothetical syllogism
  1. Denying the antecedent
  2. Affirming the consequent

Argument from Specific Instances (Generalization)

- *A.* Insufficient number of instances
- *B.* Negative instances
- *C.* Instances not typical
- *D.* Inaccuracy in facts
- *E.* Faulty causal connection
- *F.* Fallacies of statistics

[1] A. de Morgan, *Formal Logic*, p. 237. Taylor and Walton, 1847.

Causal Relation
- *A*. Assumed connection between phenomena
- *B*. Assumed connection between phenomenon and antecedent
- *C*. Inadequate cause
- *D*. Counteracting cause
- *E*. Inaccuracy of facts

Analogy, Figurative and Literal
- *A*. Points of difference outweighing points of likeness
- *B*. Negative instances
- *C*. Inaccuracy of facts
- *D*. Lack of causal connection

Begging the Question
- *A*. Arguing in a circle
- *B*. Assuming a more general truth which involves the point at issue
- *C*. Fallacious question

Ignoring the Question
- *A*. Appeal to passion, prejudice, humor
- *B*. Discussion of personalities
- *C*. Shifting ground
- *D*. Refuting an argument not advanced
- *E*. Appeal to tradition, custom
- *F*. Appeal to authority
- *G*. Appeal to ignorance
- *H*. Fallacy of false synthesis
- *I*. Fallacy of division
- *J*. Fallacy of exceptional instances

IV. The Fallacy of Equivocation

This fallacy arises from the false assumption that what is true of a term used in one sense is true of the same term used in another sense. Equivocation is often used as identical with *ambiguous construction*, discussed below; but the latter fallacy is reserved for those cases growing out of syntax or grammar, whereas *equivocation* is restricted to the wrong interpretation of a term. To illustrate: "A democrat is a person who hates kings and believes in the rule of the people; therefore vote for Jones, a good Democrat." A "democrat" is obviously used in a different

sense from a "Democrat." Again, "He who harms another should be punished. He who transmits diphtheria to another harms him. Therefore he who communicates diphtheria should be punished." The legal and philosophical question arises, What is meant by "harm"? Although the fault of misinterpretation, willfully or unknowingly, is not as common in college or school debating as many other fallacies, equivocation is sufficiently common to puzzle momentarily expert judges and other critics. Whatever causes this mental confusion or leads to conclusions that later need to be corrected is an error in reasoning.

To avoid these fallacies you should examine every term that is used more than once in an argument, to discover whether it is used in different senses.

V. The Fallacy of Ambiguous Construction

This fallacy arises when a statement is phrased so that its meaning is doubtful. The trouble may grow out of a faulty grammatical construction. For example: "After defaulting payment on the bonds, the investors applied court action to the Consolidated Iron Corporation." Here the fault is obviously one of a gerund phrase, "after defaulting," separated from the term it logically modifies, "Consolidated Iron Corporation." "Buy a fireless cooker, for the food in it retains its heat for a long time, for there is no way for it to escape." Here the trouble is ambiguous reference. Does the "food" or the "heat" escape? A similar fault is illustrated in the following assertion: "Automobiles are fast becoming an agent for the closer coöperation of all people. They are scattered in every country." "When doing the same work, the salaries should be identical for both men and women teachers." "Summing up the various cities, Chicago leads them all." Does Chicago do the "summing up"? The faults here illustrated are familiar violations of syntax and grammar. Since, however, these bad constructions may confuse the thinking of those who read or listen, such violations are to be treated as fallacies.

VI. Fallacies of the Syllogism

***A.* The Categorical Syllogism.** The fallacies of the syllogism have already been presented in the chapter on deductive reasoning. Violations of the rules for the correct formulation of the categorical syllogism give the following fallacies, illustrated in each case:

1. *Four Terms* (*Ambiguous Middle*)

I. All who believe in popular rule are progressive.
II. Congressman Jones believes in popular rule.
III. Congressman Jones is a Progressive.

Here the four terms are (1) people who are progressive; (2) Progressives; (3) all who believe in popular rule; (4) Congressman Jones. This error is in reality parallel to the example cited under equivocation. Many fallacies illustrated in this chapter may be listed under more than one heading.

2. *Two Terms* (*Ambiguous Middle*)

I. All beings with intelligence and prudence are wise.
II. Congressman Jones is a being with intelligence and prudence.
III. Congressman Jones is wise.

In this example the terms "beings with intelligence and prudence" and "beings who are wise" are so nearly synonymous as to coincide. Thus they represent one term with "Congressman Jones" as the other.

3. *Undistributed Middle*

I. Some large industries have the shop-committee system.
II. The Sioux Canning Company is a large industry.
III. The Sioux Canning Company has the shop-committee system.

In this example "Some large industries" is undistributed.

4. *Illicit Major*

I. Americans are heroes.
II. Frenchmen are not Americans.
III. Frenchmen are not heroes.

The major term "heroes" is here used in the premise to denote *some* heroes. In the conclusion "heroes" is used universally to cover all the heroes in the world.

5. *Illicit Minor*

I. All who are college students are at least sixteen years of age.
II. Those students enrolled at White University are college students.
III. Those students who are enrolled in the universities are at least sixteen years of age.

Here the minor term "Those students enrolled at White University," *not* distributed in the minor premise, is distributed or given a wide application in the conclusion.

6. *Negative Premises*

I. Whoever is a Republican is not a supporter of free trade.
II. Mr. Silas Hopkins is not a supporter of free trade.
III. Mr. Silas Hopkins is a Republican.

Here the major premise states that the middle term is outside the field of the major term; and the minor premise tells us that "Mr. Hopkins" is outside the class of the major term, "supporters of free trade." Mr. Hopkins may or may not be in the class of the middle term, "Republicans." From two negative premises, then, we get no valid conclusion.

7. *Hasty Generalization or False Causation in the Premises.* In the example quoted above, the truth of the major premise is certainly open to question; that of the minor premise may also be questioned.

B. **The Disjunctive Syllogism.** The following examples are characteristic of the fallacies of the disjunctive syllogism:

1. *Alternatives not Exhaustive*

I. He is either a Democrat or a Republican.
II. He is not a Democrat.
III. He is a Republican.

The disjunction here expressed is not exhaustive, for he might be a Progressive, or a Socialist, or a member of some other political party.

2. *Alternatives not Mutually Exclusive*

I. This college student is either a good student or a bookworm.
II. He is not a bookworm.
III. He is a good student.

The fallacy here results from the fact that the alternatives are not mutually exclusive, for a student may be both a good student and a bookworm.

C. The Hypothetical Syllogism. The following examples illustrate the characteristic fallacies of the hypothetical syllogism:

1. *Denying the Antecedent*

I. If he plays the game, Siwash will win.
II. He has not played the game.
III. Siwash will not win.

When the minor premise of the hypothetical syllogism denies the antecedent, the reasoning is fallacious. When the antecedent is affirmed, the conclusion, "Siwash will win," follows. But when we deny the antecedent, "He has not played the game," it does not necessarily follow that "Siwash will not win." Siwash may win whether he does or does not play.

2. *Affirming the Consequent*

I. If he studies hard, he will be appointed as a Rhodes scholar.
II. He has been appointed as a Rhodes scholar.
III. He has studied hard.

In such reasoning, when the minor premise affirms the consequent, the reasoning is fallacious. *Denying* the consequent means of necessity that "He has not studied hard," but *affirming* the consequent does not necessarily lead to the conclusion, "He has studied hard." The major premise does not say that he would not be appointed unless he studied hard. He might be appointed a Rhodes scholar even if he failed to study hard. Natural brilliancy combined with athletic, social, and other qualities might bring to him the coveted appointment.

VII. Fallacies of the Argument from Specific Instances

In the search for fallacies of generalization the tests which have already been suggested should be applied. Hasty generalization, perhaps the most common sin of all who argue, appears when the number of specific instances relied upon to support the conclusion is too small, when negative instances appear, when the specific instances are not fair examples of the whole, when the facts upon which the induction is made are unreliable, or when faulty causal connection is evident. Each of these fallacies is illustrated by the following cases:

***A.* Insufficient Number of Instances.** "Woodrow Wilson dared to stand for high ideals and became a martyr. So every idealist must become a martyr." One case, to be sure an outstanding one, but only one is given. Possibly you think of many other leaders, men of vision, who have not been "martyrs," or even misunderstood. "Tariff rates for the farmer are excessive; for example, his hardware costs him too much because of these high import duties." The argument would be much more impressive if the speaker were to do as one congressman, developing this point, did.

What are some of the commodities so essential to the farmers upon which the tariff rates are excessive? All the component parts of farm implements and machinery, namely, wagons, trucks, rakes, plows, binders, and all hardware; also all cutlery and dishes for the table, as well as the tablecloth and the crockery and utensils of the kitchen; shoes and clothing of all kinds, along with curtains and window shades; the pins, needles, hooks, eyes, umbrellas; the automobile, its parts, and also all guns, fishing tackle, musical instruments, and sporting goods; if the farmer desires to build a home, then all brick, glass, slate, nails, and hardware; all surgical instruments and burial necessities; all toys that make the kiddies happy on Christmas are also on the padded list; most of the necessities from the cradle to the grave. The one commodity above all used universally and upon which the Tariff Commission recommended a lowering of the duty is sugar. This item alone is costing the farmers, as well as other consumers, hundreds of millions annually.

B. **Negative Instances.** In the example above, you could doubtless cite many other idealists who went through life, apparently honored and in no sense "martyrs." Consider this example of argument from specific instances:

> To the University of Cincinnati came 300 volunteers who drank whiskey and then let their alcoholized breaths pass through a solution of 50 per cent sulphuric acid containing a trace of potassium dichromate. This solution is ordinarily reddish yellow. As the alcohol vapor penetrated, it turned a bluish green in each case. Thus was established a definite relation between intoxication and sulphuric acid-potassium dichromate tint.

Exceptional cases would weaken or destroy the validity of this conclusion.

C. **Instances not Typical.** "Henry Ward Beecher idled his time in college and became a great preacher. To become a great preacher, therefore, be a loafer in school." This example of hasty generalization is subject to a number of criticisms: (1) not enough cases are given, (2) a moment's reflection will disclose numerous exceptions, and (3) the case here cited is hardly typical. Doubtless Beecher would have been an exceptional preacher even if he had not been graduated from college or theological seminary. The case is obviously exceptional.

D. **Inaccuracy in Facts.** The instance cited above is open to another charge. What is the proof for the assertion that Beecher was a "loafer" in school? Evidence, including the testimony of Beecher himself, is to the effect that he spent much time in desultory reading. But the facts hardly substantiate the spirit of the argument advanced above. Many a generalization may thus be upset by an examination of the alleged facts.

E. **Faulty Causal Connection.** A final test to be applied to the instance of Beecher would be that of raising the logical question, Why should loafing in school result in superior preaching? Possibly because time might then be open for meditation otherwise neglected. It would be hard, nevertheless, to show a genuine causal connection between loafing and preaching.

***F.* Fallacies of Statistics.** The following shows how a fallacy of statistics was exposed:

I wish to refer now to the literacy of the Filipinos. It was asserted that their present or actual literacy is 35 per cent. According to the Philippine census of 1918, the total population of the Philippines 10 years of age and over was 6,381,261 (vol. ii, p. 53). The total literate population was 3,138,634 (vol. ii, p. 60). These figures show that the percentage of literacy as of 1918 was about 50. Taking as a basis the increase in Philippine literacy from 1903 to 1918 and applying that rate of increase from 1918 to 1925, the present percentage of literacy is found to be 60.

VIII. Fallacies of Argument from Causal Relation

The argument from causal relation, like the argument from generalization, is often misused.

***A.* Assumed Connection between Phenomena.** This fallacy is that of *non sequitur*, meaning "it does not follow." In such cases no valid connection between the assumed or known truth and the alleged cause or effect is discoverable. Coincidence is mistaken for cause or effect. Examples follow, illustrating popular superstitions:

1. Breaking a mirror brings bad luck.
2. Seeing the new moon over your right shoulder will assure the realization of any wish you make at that instant.
3. Salt spilled on the tablecloth should be thrown over the left shoulder to avoid bad luck.
4. Don't go under a raised ladder.
5. Don't open an umbrella in the house.

***B.* Assumed Connection between Phenomenon and Antecedent.** Sometimes an antecedent of a phenomenon is assumed to be the cause of it. This fallacy is known as *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, "after a fact, therefore because of it." Examples are as follows:

1. The severe winter must be due to the Republican party, for this bad weather followed closely upon the return of that party to power.

2. He stood on a New York dock ten years ago; he understood no English. His equipment was a toothbrush. Today he is general manager of a huge corporation. What could you do with a toothbrush? (Adapted from an advertisement.)

To avoid such fallacy, we should apply Mill's canons for determining causality:

1. Phenomena are causally related when they appear in a sequence.
2. Phenomena are causally not related when an antecedent is invariably absent.
3. Phenomena are causally related when any variation in one of the phenomena is accompanied by a corresponding variation in the other.[1]

***C.* An Inadequate Cause assumed to be a Sufficient Cause.** Here the causal connection is clear, but undue power is ascribed to the designated cause. For example:

1. Jones will certainly succeed as a lawyer, because he has brains.
2. The world will not see another world war, for the nations have learned to see the folly of such general struggle.

The logician who assumes that Jones will make a great lawyer simply because of his brains overlooks the other factors necessary for that result.

In the same way the influence of the World War of 1914–1918 may have influenced the minds of nations toward permanent peace, but other influences must obviously work if a second catastrophe of that kind is to be averted forever.

***D.* The Counteracting Cause.** An antecedent is predicted as having an alleged effect, whereas a counteracting cause may interfere. Examples are as follows:

1. The tariff has been increased; we are in for higher retail prices.
2. Nebraska has passed a bank-guaranty law; the people of the state will therefore lose no more money through bank failures.

[1] R. W. Sellars, *The Essentials of Logic*, pp. 226 ff. Houghton Mifflin Company.

In each case above, the assumed cause would no doubt produce the alleged effect if conteracting forces were not at work. But we need to state our predictions with care and survey the influence of every other known cause before we attribute to the cause certain definite results.

***E.* Inaccuracy of Facts.** The fallacy of causality, too, may result from a misuse of facts. We need to ascertain whether Nebraska *has* a bank-guaranty law, or whether the tariff *has* been increased.

IX. Fallacies of Analogy

In the examination of argument for examples of false analogy we may apply the tests, discussed earlier, for analogy. False analogy is present when (1) the points of difference outweigh the points of likeness, (2) when negative instances are produced, (3) when a lack of causal relation is demonstrated, or (4) when the facts upon which the fallacy is based are proved false.

***A.* Points of Difference outweighing Points of Likeness.** The following is an example of the points of difference outweighing the points of likeness:

> We find men who would have us enter into this unholy compact and bind our Nation to accept the decrees of the great mass of foreigners who constitute its almost total vote. And yet there are those who would lull us into a false sense of security by the siren song of universal peace!
>
> That cry, sirs, was heard when the British armies were marching against the Colonies. There were men then who declared there was nothing to fear. There were men then who were talking amity and good will and loyalty to our sovereign, George III. There were men then who could blind the eyes of the American people and stop their ears; but there was one clarion voice that reverberated through the forests of America: "Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. Why stand we here idle?" Ah, if ever this country needed a Patrick Henry to arouse in it once more the spirit of independence; if ever this country needed a fagot from the altars of the Revolution to light once again the fires of love of country and independence, it is at this hour.

In this analogy the situation in 1776 is compared with the post-war days after 1918. In the former case Tories advocate surrender to England; in the latter case other presumable Tories advocate surrender to the League of Nations. For rhetorical purposes the comparison is striking. The historical conditions, however, are so different as to make any direct comparison such as is suggested above wholly illogical and therefore valueless.

B. **Negative Instances.** In an intercollegiate debate on the subject RESOLVED, *That the United States government should create a commission empowered to supervise and control the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce* the affirmative argued that this commission would succeed because of the success of the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Tariff Commission, and the Tax Commission.

The negative replied by pointing out the weakness of the analogy. A negative instance, the Railway Labor Board, was cited.

> The chief duty of this [Coal] commission would be to settle the strike problem. And this problem defied Federal solution. We have one example in point: the Railway Labor Board, appointed by President Harding. This board was appointed to work for harmony between employer, employee, and public. The purpose was to insure continuous service on the part of the railroads. This board, after sitting for only a few months, precipitated the greatest strike ever called, the railroad strike of 1922. This supervision, this control, this government interference in private business, was a colossal failure. The board was dissolved.[1]

C. **Inaccuracy of Facts.** On the question cited above, one student argued: "The proposed Department of Education will be like the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Labor — departments which control every locality in the country, and which do not spend in any case more than $15,000,000 annually."

The analogy was attacked by pointing out inaccuracies in the facts: "The Department of Labor, for example, does not touch

[1] University Debaters' Annual (1925–1926), p. 75. The H. W. Wilson Company.

local units and therefore does not serve as an analogy. Moreover, the Department of Commerce spent last year $25,000,000 and the Department of Agriculture twice that amount."

D. **Lack of Causal Connection.** In each analogy discussed above, the question would arise, Why is this so? In the last case cited why should the Department of Labor be a success, and why should the Department of Education be equally successful?

X. The Fallacy of Begging the Question

The fallacy of begging the question (*petitio principii*) consists in assuming without evidence or argument a conclusion to be proved. Characteristic ways of begging the question include arguing in a circle, assuming a more general truth which involves the point at issue, and the use of question-begging words.

A. **Arguing in a Circle.** A common form of begging the question is found in the fallacy of argument in a circle (*circulus in probando*). Here two or more unproved propositions are used to establish the validity of each other. This argument may be expressed in at least two syllogisms, the conclusion of one being used as a premise to prove this same assertion. Examples are the following:

1. Fighting should be prohibited, for it is morally wrong; we know it is morally wrong because it is a practice that should be prohibited.

These statements arranged as syllogisms would be as follows:

I. Whatever is morally wrong should be prohibited.
II. Fighting is morally wrong.
III. Fighting should be prohibited.

The minor premise is thus proved:

I. Whatever should be prohibited is morally wrong.
II. Fighting should be prohibited.
III. Fighting is morally wrong.

2. College students are poor students, because they spend all their time in social diversion; and they spend all this time in social diversion because they are poor students.

I. Whatever people spend all their time in social diversion are poor students.
II. College students spend all their time in social diversion.
III. College students are poor students.

I. Whoever are poor students spend all their time in social diversion.
II. College students are poor students.
III. College students spend all their time in social diversion.

***B.* Assuming a More General Truth which involves the Point at Issue.** In this fallacy the conclusion to be proved is used to establish itself by being stated in a more general or inclusive form. The fallacy is in reality one of repetition; a generalization is implied. The fallacy is illustrated by the following example: "The students of Bridgewater University should be put on probation, for all such students should be placed on probation." The fallacy here grows out of the fact that a generalization is implied, and yet is not proved. To expose the fallacy, the argument may be expressed as a syllogism:

I. Whatever students burn signboards, assault policemen, storm motion-picture houses, should be put on probation.
II. The students of Bridgewater University did these things.
III. The students of Bridgewater University should be put on probation.

***C.* The Fallacious Question.** Sometimes a question is so phrased as to imply a statement that needs proof. Titles of articles in the form of questions often imply an unwarranted premise. Debaters in putting questions to the opposing teams, and lawyers in their cross-examinations, often are guilty of the fallacious question. This fallacy is illustrated in the following cases:

1. Can the university survive the dominance of athleticism?

The question assumes that the athletic spirit dominates the life of the university. Many argue that the social life is a more controlling factor; others, that the educational values are uppermost.

2. Is the new, high-handed premier of Chile to be another Mussolini?

The implication here is that Mussolini is "high-handed" — a fact which many of his supporters would dispute.

3. Has this student given up the habit of cheating?

A categorical "yes" would be an admission of a tendency to cheat; a categorical "no" would be interpreted to mean, not that the student had practiced cheating but rather that he still had the habit.

4. Did you write a long article in favor of compulsory military training in colleges?

There may have been no article, or it may have been a short one.

XI. The Fallacy of Ignoring the Question

The error of ignoring the question (*ignoratio elenchi*) in reasoning occurs when the debater jumps the track in the argument and arrives at an irrelevant conclusion or at the logical conclusion through illogical reasoning. "Begging the question" sticks to the problem but merely asserts what needs to be proved; ignoring the question usually leads the disputant and audience away from the problem. Ignoring the question is likely to follow when one is unable, through ignorance, to relate premise to conclusion, or when, through intent, he sidesteps the argument. The proper method of refuting such a fallacy is to state the argument clearly and show that the assumed conclusion is irrelevant or illogical.

The representative forms of this fallacy are (1) appeal to passion and prejudice; (2) attack upon the personality of some individual associated with the question rather than a discussion of the issue; (3) shifting ground; (4) refuting an argument not advanced by another speaker; (5) appeal to tradition and custom; (6) appeal to authority; (7) appeal to ignorance; (8) false synthesis; (9) division; (10) exceptional instances.

A. **Appeal to Passion, Prejudice, or Humor** (*argumentum ad populum*, "argument to the people," and *argumentum ad misericordiam*, "argument to the sympathy"). This type of fallacy

arises when appeal to prejudice is substituted for logic. An example follows:

We ought to abandon our policy of giving military protection to property owned by Americans in foreign lands, because such protection leads us into war sooner or later with Nicaragua and other Central American countries. We would have to protect the Consolidated Fruit Company. And what, pray, is this Consolidated Fruit Company? Merely another of those Wall Street corporations that exploit the weak. It is high time we Americans refrained from sending our soldier boys — our marines — to be shot down and returned home with this inscription on the coffin: "He died to protect the property of the Consolidated Fruit Company."

Here the speaker sets out to prove that our policy of protecting investments abroad will lead to war, but contents himself by inflaming his hearers against Wall Street and "big business." It is a case of appeal to passion. In other cases the speaker might sound the note of sympathy or humor.

B. **Discussion of Personalities** (*argumentum ad hominem*). A second common fallacy of ignoring the question is that of befogging or evading the argument by discussing the personality of some individual associated with the question. This person may be the rival disputant or someone who has espoused his position; or it may be that the speaker will praise himself or some one friendly to his proposal.

This fallacy rests upon the false assumption that it is illogical for a sound proposition to be identified with an individual whose personality may be condemned, or that it is logical to identify a proposition with an individual who is faultless. Examples follow:

1. The evolutionary theory should be condemned, for the evidence to prove it, from comparative physiology, blood tests, comparative anatomy, and so on, is flimsy. Look at the spokesman for evolution — Charles Darwin — a man who believes that his ancestors were apes, who openly admitted that he did not believe in God.

Here the fallacy of discussing personality is committed, because for concrete discussion of the arguments and evidence to

overthrow the theory of evolution is substituted an attack upon the character of Charles Darwin.

2. Fundamentalism as a religious attitude and doctrine is highly satisfactory, for it rests upon the theory that the Scriptures are divine revelation. Consider, then, the reasons for this interpretation of God's word. The testimony of Mr. Bryan cannot but impress those who view this problem impartially. Consider the sincerity, the spiritual power of Mr. Bryan, and his martyred leadership in defending the cause of spiritual Christianity from the attack of contemporary skepticism.

This argument contains the fallacy of discussing personality, because for proof is substituted an analysis of Mr. Bryan's virtues rather than of the force of any specific argument. As a method of suggestion such reference may be defended; on logical grounds the case is one of ignoring the arguments.

***C.* Shifting Ground.** This fallacy occurs in debate when a disputant, apparently cornered, carries the argument over to another proposition. The fallacy is common in informal discussion. Such erroneous reasoning is exposed by reminding the debaters and audience of what the real question is. Examples follow:

Mr. A. You propose to abandon the policy of this government to protect the property of its subjects in Latin America. If you do so, either you abandon the Monroe Doctrine, which requires us on occasion to protect in that region the property, not only of America, but of European nations; or you require America to protect foreign property while refusing to protect our own.

Mr. B. Anyway, the present policy is incurring the ill will of Latin America, as shown by the testimony of South American newspapers. (Testimony follows.)

In this example Mr. A. presents a dilemma which seems too hard for Mr. B. to grapple with. Accordingly Mr. B. attempts to shift to another issue the ground of discussion. Mr. A. no doubt later recalls that his own argument has been ignored — in reality admitted.

***D.* Refuting an Argument not advanced by Another Speaker.** Frequently in debate, especially in high-school debate, where

rebuttals are carefully prepared and often memorized, an argument is refuted that has not been advanced — nor presumably will be — by the other side. The debater's duty is immediately to point out to the audience that discussion of an irrelevant argument has taken place.

***E.* Argument from Tradition and Custom.** This fallacy (*argumentum ad verecundiam*) is based upon the assumption that customs or traditions that have persisted are therefore to be continued and that things that are untried are therefore not to be accepted. The fallacy occurs when the line of reasoning points, not to the truth or falsity of the proposition but to the fact that tradition or custom justifies the conclusion. An example is as follows: "America ought to keep out of European affairs, because from the days of Washington we have obeyed the injunction: no 'entangling alliances.'" In this argument the fallacy of appealing to tradition is committed, because instead of a reason to support the contention that we should avoid becoming involved in European affairs there is merely the assertion that our forefathers avoided such international relationships.

We are instinctively conservative; therefore we declare that our Federal judiciary should be independent because it has really been so from the beginning; our college, our church, our community are stoutly defended because tradition argues their worth. Behind this appeal to tradition often lies a strong argument. The age of the institution implies its worth and its present efficiency. But this appeal to precedent often needs to be supplemented by an enumeration of reasons for the validity of the precedent.

***F.* Argument from Authority.** This fallacy is closely related to the preceding one. The fallacy occurs when the argument points, not to the truth or falsity of the proposition, but to the fact that some authority supports it.

This reasoning assumes that whenever a highly revered authority supports a proposition, the proposition must be true. "Senator Borah is a distinguished and capable man. Since he

believes that Europe should pay its debts in full, we should not whittle down the French or Italian debts to a point of partial cancellation for collection." Here the argument is based solely on the veneration in which Borah is held.

It has been argued that drinking is to be approved because, it may be alleged, Washington approved the drinking of wine. Questionnaires are repeatedly taken, and the results heralded as proof. Most of these published results are of little value, but they are striking examples of fallacious argument from authority.

Although authority has great persuasive value, it should not be used exclusively. In every case it should meet the tests for testimonial evidence.

***G.* An Appeal to Ignorance of the Opposite.** A seventh characteristic mode of ignoring the question is to commit the fallacy of appealing to ignorance (*argumentum ad ignorantiam*, "argument to ignorance"). The fallacy is present when the argument attempts to prove, not the truth or falsity of the proposition but the fact that the people are ignorant of it. This type of reasoning assumes that whenever information to prove a proposition is lacking, the proposition is false, and whenever information is lacking to disprove a proposition, the proposition is true. Examples follow:

1. Dr. Trunnion's Elixir cured Silas Jones of rheumatism, because nobody can prove that it did not.

2. Spirits exist, because you cannot prove that they do not.

3. In *Roughing It* Mark Twain has a character support his statement that a buffalo can climb a tree by asking his skeptical listeners if they ever saw a buffalo try. On their replying in the negative he says that they have no grounds for doubting his word until they can prove that a buffalo cannot climb a tree.[1]

***H.* False Synthesis.** The fallacy of synthesis consists of assuming that a thing is true of a whole which is true only of the parts — or some of the parts — taken separately. For example, it may

[1] R. W. Babcock and J. H. Powell, Jr., *How to Debate*, p. 186. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923.

be assumed that a certain university football team is the strongest in the Big Ten Mid-West Conference, because each member on the team is a star performer. These brilliant players, however, may not work together, and in reality a team with fewer superior individuals may be victorious. The fallacy assumes that whatever is true of each individual part or of the parts taken together is true of the whole. Other examples are as follows:

1. The judgment of the jury is unlikely to be reliable, for the individuals are mediocre men and not particularly fair-minded.

Group judgments, on the contrary, are usually regarded as more satisfactory than are individual judgments.

2. Each state in the Union is controlled by provincial narrowness; therefore the United States as a whole is provincial and narrow.

I. **Fallacy of Division.** In the same way we often assume that what is true of the whole is true of each part. This fallacy is the converse of the fallacy of synthesis. The fallacy of division is illustrated by the following arguments:

1. The soldiers of Company F were superior A.E.F. soldiers in the World War, for the A.E.F. Army was a superior army.
2. Brown County is a rich county. Mr. A lives in Brown County. Therefore he is a rich man.

J. **Fallacy of Exceptional Instances.** This fallacy arises from the false assumption that what is true in an ordinary instance is true of a peculiar instance; and what is true of a peculiar case is true of an ordinary case. Examples follow:

1. Boys should play baseball. This little cripple is a boy. Therefore he should play baseball.
2. Airedale dogs are loyal to their masters. This dog with the rabies is an Airedale. Therefore this dog with the rabies is loyal to his master.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Bring to class two examples of fallacies, copied from current newspapers or other printed sources. Name the fallacy.

2. Hand in one example each of (1) equivocation, (2) ambiguous construction.

3. Hand in one example of each of the following fallacies: (1) four terms, (2) two terms, (3) undistributed middle, (4) illicit major, (5) illicit minor, (6) negative premises.

4. Hand in one example of each of the following fallacies: (1) denying the antecedent, (2) affirming the consequent, (3) alternatives not exhaustive, (4) alternatives not mutually exclusive.

5. Hand in one example of each of the following fallacies: (1) hasty generalization, (2) false causal relation, (3) false analogy.

6. Hand in one example of each of the following fallacies: (1) arguing in a circle, (2) fallacious question, (3) appeal to passion, (4) discussion of personalities, (5) appeal to tradition, (6) appeal to ignorance, (7) false synthesis, (8) division, (9) exceptional instances.

7. Point out the fallacies involved in the following:

a. The Republican party should continue in power; for the country has prospered.

b. School tests are a useful preparation for life; for life is made up of a series of tests.

c. Indiana is the best state for farming. Montgomery County is the best farming county in the state. My uncle's farm is the best farm in the county. Therefore my uncle's farm is the best in the United States.

d. When the village post office is broken into and fifty dollars in two-cent stamps are stolen, Mr. Blank is arrested for theft. The evidence shows that the accused was at one time convicted for robbing a bank, that he was in the village at the time of the robbery, that he was seen in the neighborhood four hours before the robbery occurred, and that when arrested he had in his possession twenty-five dollars in two-cent stamps. A verdict of guilty was given.

e. If anyone doubts the importance of an acquaintance with the principles of physiology as a means to complete living, let him look around and see how many men and women he can find in middle or later life who are thoroughly well.

f. Whatever civilization is in Japan is almost entirely due to Christianity, for wherever Christianity has gone it has brought about higher standards of living.

g. Robert Burns, Christopher Marlowe, Edgar Allan Poe, and many other literary geniuses were intemperate. It is only natural that this student with his literary gifts should be somewhat dissolute.

h. The thorough preparation that Green College gives for public speaking is shown by the honors won in the last twenty-five years in forty out of fifty-one intercollegiate debates.

i. Your college education will pay you well; statistics show that five years after graduation the income of the college man is twenty-five hundred dollars.

j. Mr. Blank will be a fine preacher; for his father and grandfather were both successful clergymen.

k. I believe that municipal ownership and operation of railways is advisable, because it will do away with civic corruption, in that there will no longer be a private company to bribe the city officials.

l. The interests of the employers and employees are identical; for both are to be classed as laborers, one laboring with his hands, the other with his brains.

m. The alumni will no doubt contribute the money for the erection of a new gymnasium, because we know how generously they have responded to the call for funds to erect other buildings.

n. Tables issued by the life-insurance companies showing the chances of life in your occupation prove that the average age at death is fifty-two years. From this fact you can easily determine your chances.

o. Mr. Wilson is like a man trying to sell the Senate a second-hand automobile. He admits it has its faults. But instead of discussing those faults in order to determine whether they are vital or trivial, he brandishes the original advertisements showing what a splendid car the unused machine was and points with pride to the excellent trimmings. But on the question of whether the engine will go or not he is discreetly silent. Yet the purpose of a car is to go, and the purpose of a treaty of peace is to make peace.

p. Fair play demanded that the United States refrain from intervening in the late British-Irish question, just as fair play prompted the policy of Great Britain toward America during our Civil War. Why should the United States have done otherwise?

q. No, Germany will not fight. No country whose credit is gone and whose debts are huge is ready to fight.

r. Naturalness is always to be preferred to artificiality. Therefore the natural method of teaching the languages must be the best.

s. Political parties are a necessity to free institutions. The United States is the oldest democracy on earth, and in it political parties have always ruled.

t. The inhuman method of killing murderers by electrocution should be abolished.

u. All football men are strong. Ichabod Royce is not a football man. Ichabod Royce is not strong.

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CHAPTER XI

REFUTATION

I. CHARACTER OF REFUTATION. II. IMPORTANCE OF REFUTATION. III. REFUTATION AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROPOSITION. IV. SELECTION OF REFUTATION. V. POSITION OF REFUTATION. VI. PHRASING THE REFUTATION. VII. GENERAL METHODS OF REFUTATION. VIII. SPECIAL METHODS OF REFUTATION

I. Character of Refutation

Refutation is the process of removing objections, of undermining inhibitions, and thus gaining complete attention. It consists of arguments and evidence presented to destroy the proof resulting from counter arguments and evidence.

By the very nature of the process of debate he who advocates a point of view finds that his proposals are in direct conflict with other proposals. When the hearer or reader does not accept the proof presented to him, it is because obstacles in his mind, or inhibitions, compete with or resist the influence of the proposals. These opposing ideas may come from a definite opponent, as in debate, or merely from an audience. At the outset the hearers may be on the whole either indifferent, neutral, or favorable to the proposition. The problem of the speaker, who in effect declares, "I advocate," or "I affirm," is to counteract the effect of some real or imaginary opponent who may immediately afterward suggest to the mind of the audience, "I question," or "I deny." The removal of an inhibition, which consists of anything which blocks the acceptance by another of an idea, is the process of refutation.

II. Importance of Refutation

For the speaker to prepare and present the so-called constructive case is sometimes to give only one half the proof in debate. For debate does two things: first, it creates positive belief;

secondly, it destroys unbelief. Most amateur debaters err in evolving impressive constructive cases and in ignoring too largely the refutatory elements. Genuine debate can be completed only by giving to the audience a clear-cut contrast between the constructive proof on the one hand and the destructive proof on the other. Effective debating therefore requires a thorough understanding of refutation and skill in its use.

III. Refutation and Knowledge of the Proposition

The basis for intelligent refutation consists of a complete knowledge of both sides of the question. If the debater is to meet sudden and unexpected criticisms of his point of view and to dispose of these objections with a clearness and completeness that will win the confidence of those who are to be convinced, he must know every possible argument and be familiar with every bit of evidence that may be used against him. His preparation must be so thorough that he will be able to argue on the opposing side with as much skill as he uses in defense of his constructive case.

IV. Selection of Refutation

For the debater to attempt refutation of every idea that might be presented would be disastrous. For one thing, truth is not all on one side. Many arguments of the other side may well be admitted. At least they need not be definitely challenged. Other arguments are too trivial for reply. It is the central pillars of the opposing arguments which are to be undermined. The main issues are to be followed closely, and only the outstanding arguments need to be considered, especially if the speech is limited to a few minutes. Aside from the loss of time and energy involved in a complete refutation of a rival case, undue prominence may be given to comparatively weak arguments of the opposing side. A careful analysis of the main issues is the best safeguard against the tendency of most beginners to refute every argument, whether

it be trivial or irrelevant. The debater will also constantly feel the pulse of the audience and aim to remove those ideas which obviously produce inhibitions.

V. Position of Refutation

One of the major problems of refutation is to decide at what point in the speech to insert refutatory material. Should it precede the constructive material or succeed it? Or should refutation and construction be interwoven? The answer will depend largely on the subject, the attitude of the audience toward the subject, and if the occasion is one of debate, upon the immediate circumstances. Refutation should in general be inserted wherever and whenever it will be most effective.

If the argument to be advanced is unpopular, or if another writer or speaker has presented a strong case, then the first duty of a writer or speaker is to clear the atmosphere by disposing of the objections.

If, however, the audience attitude is on the whole favorable or neutral and if no outstanding objections have been raised, then the material to be refuted may be left until the constructive case is largely developed.

Refutation should, nevertheless, always be followed by a summary of positive statements which will give as a final impression a constructive suggestion to the audience. Undue stressing of material to be refuted may impress on the minds of the audience ideas which otherwise would command little attention. In general, opposing ideas should be taken up at the point where they logically arise. If an opponent has not already stated these objections, this type of reply is known as anticipatory refutation.

VI. Phrasing the Refutation

Much of the art of refutation lies in the clearness with which the inhibitory ideas to be removed are stated. Often refutation is not understood by the audience and is confused with constructive material because the refutatory ideas are hazily expressed.

The novice who is defending government ownership of coal mines will declare, "Something was said about a bureaucracy," whereas the genuine debater will more definitely put it, "The argument has been advanced that government ownership of coal mines would lead to a huge bureaucracy in Washington," and then will proceed to a definite analysis and destruction of the charge. The rule for briefing refutation[1] should be referred to at this point. Note that, in the following example of briefing, the argument to be refuted is stated as a conclusion, and the reply is developed as a piece of deductive reasoning:

I. The argument that government ownership of coal mines would lead to extravagance in administration and to a higher cost of coal is fallacious, for

A. Efficient managers would continue to direct the coal industry, for

(1) The same managers who now operate the mining industry would continue to function under government ownership.

VII. General Methods of Refutation

Refutation, in its attack upon unsupported assertion or unreliable evidence or fallacious argument, will use the general methods suggested in preceding chapters for testing evidence and argument and for exposing the various fallacies of false definition, ambiguous construction, of the categorical, hypothetical, or disjunctive syllogism, of hasty generalization, false analogy, false causal relation, begging the question, and ignoring the question. Since these methods have already been treated at length, they need not here be further discussed.

VIII. Special Methods of Refutation

Special methods of exposing the weakness of opposing arguments are as follows:

Reductio ad absurdum	Exposing inconsistencies
Method of residues	Adopting opposing arguments
Method of dilemma	Exposing irrelevant arguments

[1] See pp. 108–109.

A. Reductio ad Absurdum. A common method of refutation is that of reducing an argument to an absurdity. The debater seemingly accepts for the moment the argument to be refuted, and then shows that the logical conclusion is absurd. For example, the proposition might be advanced that this country should not relinquish control of the Philippines until the Filipinos are fit to use their freedom. In reducing this argument to an absurdity we should discover and state the general principle, and then show that the practical application would not be acceptable even to those who have unwittingly advanced it. The broad principle in this case is, "Freedom should be given only to those who have demonstrated their ability to use it wisely." Applications would be: (1) "Boys should never go into the water until able to swim." (2) "No one should operate an automobile until he is able to drive it properly." By referring the general principle to a case that is more familiar to our experience than the one cited in the rival argument, and by making clear that the two cases are analogous, we may compel the author of the argument, or, at any rate, those who listen, to admit the weakness of the principle. In such case whether the refutation is effective depends upon (1) whether the principle assumed is clearly stated, (2) whether the analogous case is sufficiently close to the experience of the audience, and (3) whether the analogy meets the tests of valid analogy. Note the following example, from a student debate:

> They say that the decisions of the compulsory arbitration board are not very valuable, because the members of such board are likely to be men little known and insignificant. We are to presume that the better known a man is, the better man he necessarily is. Well, there is a little minister in my town whom we all think a very good man, and a very wise man, but not many people outside of his own town know anything about him. Of course everybody knows about the bandit, Gerald Chapman; so I suppose he must have been a good deal better than our minister is.

Here the members of the compulsory arbitration board are assumed to be unsatisfactory because they are little known.

The minister has this in common with them: that he, who is trying to function in some service, is also unknown. Therefore, like them, he is unsatisfactory, a conclusion with which probably nobody would agree.

To acquire facility in the use of *reductio ad absurdum*, the debater should be constantly on the alert to discover arguments of his opponent that are based on any of the following false, but commonly used, general assumptions:

That a mere sequence between two things is sufficient to establish a causal relationship between them;

That what is true of a part is also necessarily true of a whole, and vice versa;

That what is true in a peculiar instance is also true in an ordinary instance and vice versa;

That what is true of a term employed in one sense is also true of the same term employed in an entirely different sense;

That no true proposition is in any way associated with a man having faults; and no false proposition is in any way associated with a man who appears to be faultless;

That no proposition is false, if the people are for it; and no proposition is true, if the people are against it;

That when any person lacks information to prove a proposition, the proposition is false; and whenever any person lacks information to disprove a proposition, the proposition is true; and

That whenever a proposition is supported by authority that inspires reverence or respect, then the proposition must be true.[1]

***B.* Method of Residues.** The method of residues is used when the debater reduces the case to a definite number of possible conclusions and shows that all but one are impracticable. This method consists of reducing the argument to a disjunction and drawing a logical conclusion. For the disjunction to be satisfactory the possibilities must be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. For example, a student who advocated government ownership of coal mines showed that three courses of action were possible: a continuation of uncontrolled private monopoly, the

[1] W. C. Shaw, *The Art of Debate*, pp. 128–129. Allyn and Bacon, 1922.

establishment of rigid Federal regulation, or government ownership. The speaker then proved that the first two policies were indefensible. The presumption was that government ownership was the only feasible solution. The argument reduced to a disjunction would be as given below:

I. Private monopoly or Federal regulation or government ownership is the only solution of the coal problem.
II. Private monopoly is unsatisfactory.
III. Federal regulation or government ownership is the only solution of the coal problem.

I. Either Federal regulation or government ownership is the only solution of the coal problem.
II. Federal regulation is unsatisfactory.
III. Government ownership is the only solution of the coal problem.

Although a strong presumption occurs when the alternatives are ruled out, nevertheless the wise debater will proceed with a positive justification of the choice remaining. For it is extremely difficult to enumerate and to dispose of all the possibilities. In the case above the speaker overlooked state regulation of the coal industry, as applied in Pennsylvania.

Characteristic arguments, in which a new policy is advocated, are required to prove that the proposed policy is the best policy. In developing this issue the speaker invariably resorts to the method of residues. Once we grant that some action must be taken, it becomes a problem of exploring each possible avenue of escape. The speaker advocating a blanket amendment to the Federal Constitution, giving women equal rights with men, showed that the legal, economic, and social inequalities call for a remedy. The possibilities were (1) special state legislation or (2) Federal legislation. The inadequacy of special legislation naturally led to the conclusion that Federal legislation was necessary. (And it was taken for granted that the only way to have Federal legislation was to pass a blanket amendment — an assumption violently challenged by the other side.)

In another case in which a student advocated the passage of the McNary-Haugen bill for farm relief the statement was developed that "this is the best possible remedy." This was presumably established by a rejection of all other "possible remedies": (1) extension of farmers' coöperative societies, (2) encouragement of rotation of crops, (3) reduction of taxes, (4) building of a Great Lakes-to-the-sea canal down the St. Lawrence. The negative, however, ridiculed this analysis by enumerating a half-dozen other remedial measures, such as reduction of the tariff and extension of credit facilities to the farmers. In this debate the negative refused to commit themselves to any of these "alternative plans."

In another instance the speaker urged the cancellation of war debts owing the United States by the Allies, on the ground that there were two possibilities: cancellation or collection. Then he proceeded to show that collection was impossible, because each of the proposed methods for collection was highly impracticable. Europe could not pay in gold; nor could the United States afford to accept goods from Europe, from European possessions in Africa or elsewhere, or a transfer of credits. The negative replied that a third possibility had been overlooked; namely, partial collection. Then it was admitted that collection by gold alone, goods alone, territories alone, or transfer of credits alone would be unsatisfactory. But another method should have been considered, in this case a successful method, — that of using all these methods in combination. This fallacy of the affirmative argument by the method of residues lay in the fact that the fallacy of division had been committed — the fallacy of assuming that what was true of each separate unit was true of the units taken as a whole.

***C.* Method of the Dilemma.** Another effective method of undermining an argument is that of using the dilemma. This type of refutation consists of making clear that an argument leads logically to two possible solutions, both of which are untenable. These alternatives are the *horns* of the dilemma. The

opponent, forced to choose one of these horns, becomes hopelessly impaled. The dilemma, like the method of residues, shows that a given possibility cannot be logically accepted. The remaining alternative, which the author of the method of residues would accept, the rival speaker would show is also to be rejected, leaving dangling in mid-air, or on the two horns, the one who advanced the premise. Since the dilemma is literally limited to two horns, an expansion of the number of possibilities presented against the other side would lead to a *trilemma*, if three horns are employed; to a *tetralemma*, if four; and if many, to a *polylemma*.

The dilemma in its syllogistic form has for its major premise a compound sentence made up of hypothetical propositions or of a combination of hypothetical and disjunctive propositions. The minor premise under the first of these conditions would either affirm the two consequents or deny the two consequents. Under the second condition the minor premise would deny the two alternatives given in the major premise. Examples will make this explanation clear:

A

I. If the United States enters the League of Nations, this country will become involved in wars; and if the United States remains outside the League, this country will become involved in wars. (Compound hypothetical major premise.)

II. The United States must either enter the League or remain outside. (Affirmation of the antecedents.)

III. The United States will become involved in wars. (Affirmation of the common consequent.)

B

I. If the United States enters the World Court, this country must either abandon its sovereignty or refuse to abide by the decisions of the court. (Compound hypothetical, disjunctive proposition.)

II. But this country can neither abandon the Monroe Doctrine nor refuse to abide by the decisions of the court. (Categorical denial of both alternatives.)

III. This country cannot enter the World Court. (Denial of the common antecedent.)

The example above, reduced to a brief, would be stated as follows:

I. The United States could not enter the World Court, for
  A. To enter the court would mean either loss of sovereignty or refusal of this country to abide by the decisions of the court.
  B. To accept either of these alternatives would be impossible, for
    1. To lose our sovereignty would be impossible.
    2. To refuse to abide by the decisions of the court would be impossible.

The valid dilemma is one of the most powerful of all forms of refutation. So difficult is it, however, to develop clearly and logically this device that few debaters succeed in handling it effectively. First of all, you need to make the dilemma clear — to strip it of verbiage and attendant arguments that may conceal the real disjunction. To assure yourself that your statement is definite and exact, you will find advantage in framing the dilemmatic argument as a syllogism. Secondly, you need to be sure that the alternatives exhaust all the possibilities. The disjunction must be complete. Most dilemmas are faulty in this respect. Thirdly, you need to be assured that neither of the horns may be accepted without serious injury to the case. Often the accepting of one of the alternatives is shown to have no disastrous consequences. For example, in the argument above, that to enter the World Court would mean the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, you could attack the dilemma by showing that to abandon the Monroe Doctrine would be desirable. Fourthly, you should prove, and not merely assume, the proposition containing the horns. In the argument above, it would have to be proved that joining the World Court would lead to the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine. Supporters of the World Court would deny that that organization would directly or indirectly interfere with this historic doctrine of the New World.

A student debater argued that "the United States should adopt a program for the further reduction of our navy." In reply it was said: "If the navy is reduced, we must rely for defense either on our army or on our air forces. But our army is small and our air

forces comparatively negligible. Therefore, we cannot reduce our navy." This dilemma could be attacked by showing that we have other lines of defense in case of war, namely, coast defenses, chemical-warfare material, a large reserve crops, and so on; in other words, the disjunction used in the dilemma is not complete. Or it could be shown that the air forces, small though they are, would constitute a sufficiently powerful weapon to ward off sudden attacks; here the horn of the dilemma could be grasped directly. Again, the dilemma could be assailed by showing that the implied assumption, "there would be an early war," is unwarranted.

Another example is the following:

I. If a man is honest, he will land in the poorhouse; and if he is dishonest, he will land in jail.
II. But a man is either honest or dishonest.
III. He will land in the poorhouse or land in jail.

The dilemma is obviously false in that many honest men and some dishonest ones land in palaces.

I. If the United States cancels the war debts owing it, this country will lose great revenue; and if the United States collects the war debts owing it, this country will become a dumping ground for European goods.
II. The United States will either cancel or collect the war debts owing it.
III. The United States will either lose great revenue or will become a dumping ground for European goods.

The major premise above has two antecedents and two consequents, and the conclusion is therefore a disjunctive one. The inference is that America will suffer if she loses the principal and interest of foreign debts to us; and will suffer if cheap European goods find their way to our markets. Here again the assumption upon which the disjunction is based may be attacked.

D. **Method of Exposing Inconsistencies.** Still another method of winning a case is that of bringing to light inconsistencies in the

counter argument. Easy is it in the course of an extended discussion to drop statements that are contradictory. Woe to you in discussion if your inconsistencies are exposed. If in one instance you appear to argue against yourself, how much faith can the auditor have in the remainder of your case? In a recent debate a speaker contended that compulsory arbitration of disputes in the anthracite-coal industry was necessary, because the unions had grown so powerful that they would dictate to the government itself. A succeeding argument attempted to convince the audience that compulsory arbitration was practicable in this country, because the unions, although bitterly opposed to this method of settling disputes, would bow to the will of the arbitration board. The listeners naturally found it difficult to reconcile the two contentions. In a number of debates on the subject of government ownership of coal mines, railroads, or other utilities, supporters of the affirmative have fallen into apparent inconsistency, first, by stressing the point that public ownership would result in reduced prices to the public because of the doing away of private-monopoly rates; secondly, by emphasizing the contention that government ownership would greatly improve the lot of the employees by reason of the higher wages and shorter hours.

Inconsistencies often result from the development of arguments that do not square with admissions made at another point in the discussion. For example, one speaker presented the argument that the United States could collect the war debts from Europe by accepting European goods. Since another speaker on the same side had already admitted that this country should be committed to a high protective policy, the advocates of cancellation demanded a consistent explanation of the two apparently contradictory statements. In another intercollegiate debate, on the merits of the "closed shop," the negative admitted that labor unions and collective bargaining were necessary, and then argued that the closed shop had no place in industry. The affirmative attempted, with more or less success, to make clear that since the collective bargain carried with it the necessity for the closed,

or unionized, shop, the negative point of view was inconsistent. To forestall the charge of such inconsistency the speaker must be wary of admissions, or he must carefully check each of his arguments to be sure it is made clear in the light of such admissions.

The tests of consistency of evidence [1] should here be applied. In a debate one speaker brought forth the testimony of Samuel Gompers in proof of the fact that the bituminous-coal miners were unjustified in their rejection of the operators' proposals for a three-year wage contract. The other side replied by showing that this authority had died some time before the statement was supposedly made. Evidence must be consistent with itself, with other evidence, and with the facts of human experience.

***E.* Adopting Opposing Arguments.** Most effective is that debater who can appropriate the arguments or evidence offered by the other side, and can so interpret this material of proof offered as to win his own case. One debater in contending that we need a blanket amendment to give equal rights to women in the United States argued that four states failed to give equal contractual rights to men and women. The opposition used this same evidence to prove that the legislation was unnecessary, because only four states still had this discrimination — clear evidence of the fact that there had been a steady and rapid change in state laws to meet the situation pointed out by the affirmative. A debate on the proposition RESOLVED, *That the American university is a failure* argued that the higher institutions were failing because college athletics were so highly magnified, as many as eighty thousand spectators attending an intercollegiate football game. The rejoinder was that the stressing of athletics was the very reason why the university was and is a success; that physical fitness and interest in these events were a healthy sign and that it should be fondly hoped that the audiences of eighty thousand would soon swell to a hundred thousand.

***F.* Exposing Irrelevant Arguments.** Favorable results often follow a clear-cut explanation of the irrelevant arguments ad-

[1] See Chapter VII.

vanced in a discussion. The refutation, however, must make it evident that the arguments *are* irrelevant. The impression for a speaker is distinctly bad if those who listen feel that he has either deliberately or ignorantly engaged in insignificant or idle talk. A negative speaker on the question RESOLVED, *That the United States should enact a law giving strikes and their concomitant activities the same legality they have under the British Trade Disputes Act of 1906*, in the course of his refutation said:

> The first speaker of the affirmative spent his entire time supporting and defending the peaceful strike, the primary boycott — the desirability of which we conceded in our constructive speeches. Therefore all this time was completely wasted. The third speaker asserted that collective bargaining was essential. We concede collective bargaining in general, but we do not concede collective bargaining so powerful as to give monopoly power; short of that we concede all. This is not an issue; consequently all argument along this line is time wasted.[1]

In general, strong refutation depends upon a wide knowledge of the question and upon mental alertness. Continually the keen debater will ask: (1) Does the opponent use hasty generalization with too few examples, with untypical instances, with inaccuracy of fact, with faulty causal connection? (2) If statistics are used, are the instances numerous, is the sampling systematically done, are exceptions to be noted, and do the figures cover a sufficient amount of time? (3) Are there false analogies in that the points of difference outweigh the points of likeness, in that negative instances may be cited, in that there is lack of causal connection, or inaccuracy in the use of facts? (4) Are there fallacies of mistaken causal relation in which the assumed cause is merely another effect of the real cause, or in which it has operated after the effect has been noted, or is inadequate to produce the effect, or is interfered with in its action by other counteracting causes? (5) Does the opponent beg the question by arguing in a circle, or by assuming a more general truth which involves the point at issue, or by using question-begging words? (6) Does he ignore

[1] *University Debaters' Annual* (1923–1924), p. 45. The H. W. Wilson Company.

the question by appealing to passion, prejudice, humor? by discussion of personalities? by shifting ground, refuting an argument not advanced, appealing to tradition, custom, authority, ignorance, or by using exceptional instances? (7) Are the authorities open to attack? (8) Can the argument be reduced to an absurd conclusion? (9) Can the case be reduced to a dilemma from which there is no escape? (10) Can the case be reduced to three or four principles, only one of which can be shown to be feasible? (11) Can the tables be turned so that an opponent's arguments and evidence are used to prove the case?

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Be prepared to deliver a two-minute speech on one of the following topics: (1) The method of refutation by *reductio ad absurdum*; (2) refutation by the method of dilemma; (3) refutation by the method of residues; (4) refutation by exposing inconsistencies; (5) refutation by adopting opposing arguments; (6) refutation by exposing irrelevant arguments; (7) selection of refutation; (8) importance of refutation; (9) nature of refutation; (10) position of refutation; (11) general methods of refutation.

2. Discuss the methods of refutation found in each of the following examples (if possible, identify the quotation):

a. "Judge Douglas finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes all men, black as well as white, and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend that it does, do so only because they want to vote, to eat and sleep, and marry with negroes. He will have it that they cannot be consistent else. Now I protest against this counterfeit logic which concludes that because I do not want a black woman for a slave that I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone."

b. "The Dred Scott Decision expressly gives to every citizen of the United States a right to carry his slaves into the United States Territories. Now, there is some inconsistency in saying that the decision was right, and saying, too, that the people of the Territory could lawfully drive slavery out again. When all the trash, the

words, the collateral matter was cleared away from it, — all the chaff fanned out of it, — it was a bare absurdity; no less than that a thing may be lawfully driven away from a place where it has a lawful right to be."

c. "If, then, the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable; if the ideas of the criminal process be inapplicable — or if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient — what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and last — to comply with the American spirit as necessary; or if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil."

d. "You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it, and what is your proof? Harpers Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harpers Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that manner, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander."

e. "If, sir, I wished to find a strong and perfect illustration of the effects which I anticipate from long copyright, I should select — my honorable and learned friend will be surprised — I should select the case of Milton's granddaughter. As often as this bill has been under discussion, the fate of Milton's granddaughter has been brought forward by the advocates of monopoly. My honorable and learned friend has repeatedly told the story with great eloquence and effect. He has dilated on the sufferings, on the abject poverty, of this ill-fated woman, the last of an illustrious race. He tells us, that, in the extremity of her distress, Garrick gave her a benefit, that Johnson wrote a prologue, and that the public contributed some hundreds of pounds. Was it fit, he asks, that she should receive in this eleemosynary form, a small portion of what was in truth a debt? Why, he asks, instead of obtaining the pittance from charity, did she not live in comfort and luxury on the proceeds of the sale of her ancestor's works? But, sir, will my honorable and learned friend tell me that this event, which he has so often and so pathetically described, was caused by the short-

ness of the term of copyright? Why, at that time, the duration of copyright was longer than even he, at present, proposes to make it. The monopoly lasted, not sixty years, but forever. At the time Milton's granddaughter asked charity, Milton's works were the exclusive property of a bookseller. Within a few months of the day on which the benefit was given at Garrick's Theatre, the holder of the copyright of *Paradise Lost* — I think it was Tonson — applied for an injunction against a bookseller, who had published a cheap edition of the great epic poem, and obtained the injunction."

3. Refute one of the following arguments, using a special method discussed in the chapter:

a. Admission to the freshman class in this school should be by examination only, for the certificate system is unsatisfactory in that secondary schools vary greatly in their standards; the examination system, moreover, benefits both the secondary school and the college in promoting habits of patience, self-control under difficulties, and in schooling the student for the practical tests of life.

b. Our colleges should adopt the honor system for all classroom work, including examinations, for there is much cheating at present, and the students feel that they are under suspicion; the honor system would help the student, the undergraduate body as a whole, and the faculty. It has succeeded in Princeton and other colleges.

c. The states should employ a form of compulsory industrial insurance, for the workman at present needs protection, for savings will not meet the problem, voluntary methods are insufficient, and workman's compensation schemes are unsatisfactory; moreover, the plan of industrial insurance is practicable, for it has worked in Europe, for it would compensate adequately, in that it would be compulsory.

d. This city should own and operate its street railways, for the fares are exorbitant, the cars run at infrequent intervals and are poorly heated, the service is dangerous, and employees are unjustly treated, for they are underpaid. Municipal ownership would correct these evils.

e. The labor union is undesirable, for it means strikes and the demoralization of business; it is undemocratic, for it denies to a man the right to sell his labor as he desires.

f. The city-manager plan of government should be adopted in all American cities, for under the present mayor-and-council plan the men in office are petty politicians, and the method of lawmaking is cumbersome and slow; the city-manager plan will eliminate waste and corruption.

g. Automobile owners in this state should not be required to take out liability and collision insurance, for such requirement has a socialistic tendency, for the plan puts the government into business and tends to crush individual initiative; the requirement is impracticable, for everyone will indirectly have to pay for the experiment; the results in Massachusetts and elsewhere show that it does not function well; the program makes a certain class of people feel irresponsible; it increases the number of dishonest claims; it breeds contempt for law.

h. The United States should at once abandon extraterritorial rights in China, for the present consular courts are inefficient; the consuls are not legally trained; there is a multiplicity of courts; these foreign courts fail to render justice, because the consular judges are naturally biased; the Chinese court system, if given a fair opportunity, would be efficient in administering justice, for a modern system of courts has been established, modeled after the Western plan, well-trained judges are appointed, laws have been codified, and prisons modified.

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CHAPTER XII

REBUTTAL

I. DEFINITION OF REBUTTAL. II. POSITION OF REBUTTAL. III. IMPORTANCE. IV. COLLECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF REBUTTAL MATERIAL. V. REBUTTAL IN THE MAIN SPEECH. VI. REBUTTAL IN THE SECOND SERIES OF SPEECHES. VII. ORGANIZATION OF THE REBUTTAL SPEECH. VIII. EXEMPLIFICATION

I. Definition of Rebuttal

Rebuttal applies to those portions of a debate or discussion in which the argument of the opposition is refuted and the speaker's own constructive case or that of his colleagues is defended.

Rebuttal is like refutation in that both aim to destroy rival arguments; but rebuttal is both an offensive and a defensive practice. Rebuttal not only sweeps away opposition but furnishes further substantiation of one's own constructive argument.

II. Position of Rebuttal

The rebuttal may, like refutation, occur in the beginning of the speech, at the end, or at any appropriate point in the speech. In each case rebuttal, in so far as it defends, bolsters up the earlier speeches of one's associates. In formal debate it has been customary to have a main speech, composed almost entirely of constructive arguments, usually ten or twelve minutes long; and a second speech, five or six minutes long, filled with a discussion of the opposing arguments, called a *rebuttal*. When this conventional division is followed, a small amount of rebuttal material is sometimes inserted at the beginning of the first presentation of the negative side. It aims to refute some specific and especially impressive statement of the first affirmative speaker.

The tendency in recent years to adopt the more informal style in debate has led to the practice of limiting each speaker to one

speech, freely filled with refutatory material, and a final rejoinder, largely composed of summary, which is presented by the opening speaker, the mover of the motion.

III. Importance

Skill in rebuttal distinguishes the genuine debater from a merely clever public speaker. The ability to single out, to restate clearly, and immediately to dispose of outstanding objections to one's position is an art requiring long practice. It is, however, of great practical value. The business man or salesman, after he has unfolded his proposition, finds it necessary to deal directly with vigorous or half-expressed objections that strike at the basis of his argument. The legislator, after his prepared remarks upon the bill have been stated, must rally to vigorous defense as amendments, substitutions, counter bills, and endless criticisms are heaped upon the resolution. The candidate for office must likewise run the gantlet of censure from political enemies and must early and late rebut each major indictment. Whenever in practical affairs arguments are advanced, there comes a veritable battle in which alternate attack and defense succeed each other. Rebuttal, skillfully veiled though it may be in persuasive terms, is the indispensable basis for the successful conclusion of the issue. In spite of our hopes for the development of a type of discussion that may be free from bilateral virulence [1] the fact remains that once the contentions are sharply arrayed against each other, there arises an intellectual clash, and in that clash effectiveness in give-and-take rebuttal is the deciding factor. Many a well-knit constructive debate has failed because it has neglected to consider the power of a rival argument.

IV. Collection and Arrangement of Rebuttal Material

Rebuttal statements are not the casual thoughts or bits of information that come to mind as a speaker hears his case dissected by an opponent. On the contrary, the worth-while speech of

[1] See Chapter I, pp. 13–14.

reply grows out of a systematic preparation which carefully anticipates the situation. All the arguments of the opposition are listed by a skillful rebutter as he evolves his own argument. Numerous objections to his points of view are set down on cards or slips of paper, to be answered later. In practice debates and in his review of printed debates on the subject, as found in magazines, congressional records, and elsewhere, he jots down fairly and concisely each of the main pillars and subpillars of the arguments and the evidence which goes to support them.

Under each argument to be refuted he briefs concisely his reply, including the specific evidence which he intends to use in connection with each point. Cards of standard library size should be used, with the general topic placed at the top, and immediately beneath or on the same line the more specific topic discussed. For example, if the question is, RESOLVED, *That a Federal Department of Education should be established with a secretary in the president's cabinet,* the general topic would include "need for research," "teachers' salaries," "illiteracy," "unequal educational opportunities," "physical education," "increased efficiency," "consolidation of departments," "Federal bureaucracy," "political effects," "dangers of centralization," "inadequacy of state control," and "cost." Thus the debater may list under a dozen heads as many as fifty major arguments, which cover practically every idea that may be brought up by the opposition. These arguments, thus classified, are ready for instant use in the crisis.

SPECIMEN REBUTTAL CARD

ILLITERACY NEW YORK STATE

1. Although it is agreed that . . . . . , yet this argument is false, for
   A.
   B.
   C.
   D.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

V. Rebuttal in the Main Speech

A set speech devoid of rebuttal, without any attempt to articulate itself with the preceding speech or speeches of the other side, is a poor substitute for a genuine debate. Much more impressive is that individual debate which at the outset takes up and refutes definite points made by the other side. Rebuttal should be used in the opening of the speech and should, if possible, deal with major issues. Of course these observations do not apply to the first affirmative address. In general they are more applicable to the negative, whose primary business is to destroy. Suppose that three speakers comprise a team, each one having at his disposal ten minutes for a main speech. The second affirmative speaker should allow two or three minutes at the outset, and the third affirmative as much as five minutes, for direct reply. This arbitrary differentiation between the rebuttal elements and the prepared speech is, however, artificial and should not be followed too literally. The entire speech, as has been stated previously, should be permeated with rebuttal. The audience should at every turn be made aware of the relationship which the speaker's remarks bear to the material of the other side.

Note the following speech, quoted in full as given by a third negative speaker on the subject Resolved, *That the states should ratify the pending child-labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States*:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The gentlemen of the Affirmative this evening have asked us to take those Federal laws that they have talked about and show where in those laws the Federal government interfered with education, how they failed to meet local conditions under those laws, and what we are afraid of in those laws. To allay some of their fears and trepidations, I will discuss those laws briefly now, because they haven't told you just what those laws contain.

It is easy to take a law that never had any strength and never was enforced, and say, "Point out faults in that law and dangers in that law." They spoke much of the Federal child-labor laws, but they didn't tell you that those laws only laid down a standard for the

states to live up to. They didn't tell you those laws were indirect in operation, and dependent on the states for enforcement. They didn't tell you that this amendment means direct action by the Federal government on the people. They didn't tell you any of the things about those laws which might be said, so they think it is safe to say, "Point out dangers in those laws and faults in those laws." You cannot point out faults and dangers in something that never had any force, and those laws had no force, they depended only on the state laws that were in existence. Under one of them there were only five inspectors over the forty-eight states of the Union. The laws didn't mean anything at the time, they don't mean anything more now except as a standard by which we can judge whether our states now are living up to their obligations in regard to the children.

Now the last speaker for the Affirmative has undertaken to prove to us that this policy and this amendment is in accord with our national principles. The principle he takes to work on, makes it a fairly easy job. He sets down as a fundamental principle of our government this: that the good of the people is paramount. Why, Gentlemen and Ladies, what couldn't you justify on such a principle? What thing that is intended to benefit someone couldn't be justified on that basis? What couldn't be said to be in accord with our policy? If that were a policy of the government, could the Supreme Court ever declare anything unconstitutional? Could Congress ever refuse to do anything which would benefit any individual in the whole country? Of course not. There is a narrower principle; and, although the gentleman hasn't mentioned it, he has based his speech on it. That principle is this: that the Federal Congress takes over control of those things which the states have absolutely failed in, and which are interstate in character.

He quoted you some examples, and every one of those examples is interstate in character. Congress didn't take those cases over through any story about the good of the people being paramount; it took them over because they were interstate. The speaker talked about white slavery, about pure-food laws and about lotteries — all interstate in character. To prove that this child-labor amendment is in accord with our policy he must prove that child labor is interstate. Our opponents have attempted to do something about that; they have tried to show you that migration of labor makes this an interstate problem. But is this problem interstate in character? The United States Supreme Court declared the last child-labor law unconstitutional on

the ground that while it was intended to come under the Interstate Commerce Clause, it was not an interstate matter. The Supreme Court of the United States has set its seal on that. The gentlemen of the Affirmative don't believe it; they say that it is interstate, that there is migration. Yet Secretary Hoover says that child-labor migration today is negligible. If there is any migration, the Affirmative should submit figures on it; but there aren't any figures on it, it is so small. Still, if there is any migration, there is a remedy; and it is not such a drastic remedy as they propose. Every state in the Union has educational requirements. Instead of wasting time changing the system of government to end child labor, why not spend time in enforcing the state laws strictly? We believe that while the state laws are being reasonably enforced now, there is always room for improvement. Let's enforce the state laws in education more strictly and do away with the problem at its very source.

The Negative so far has proved, first, that such a drastic step is unnecessary. The states today have good laws; the laws are constantly increasing. In the last four years thirty-seven states have taken further action on this matter. Our second speaker has told you that this remedy they have proposed is impracticable owing to the great complexity of our country, and that one central Federal law on this subject will build up an inefficient bureaucracy. He has shown that this is one part of a great social problem, and the only way to solve that problem is to take it in its entirety and not separate it into its parts and divide the parts between the states and the Federal government. As the concluding speaker it shall be my purpose to prove to you that this amendment is absolutely dangerous.

The last speaker that preceded me said: "Why doesn't the Negative get down into the facts and point out the evil?" He was a little premature. If he had waited I would have pointed out the evil to him. In the first place this country is unique for two things: its tremendous size and its economic diversity. The founders of the country saw that and devised for us a system of government known nowhere before on earth. The creators of that system of government realized that one Congress at Washington could not pass a law equally just to farmer, manufacturer and plantation owner. To that inspired plan which reserved all power to the states, except certain enumerated powers given to the Federal government, we probably owe our present prosperity.

There are always cranks who tend to go to extremes. One set led into the Civil War, another set today would say: Take all the power away from the states and give it to the Federal government. The gentlemen of the Affirmative are here tonight with this amendment. What does it mean? On which side is it? Does it preserve the balance between the state and Federal government? This amendment says: Take away from the states the control of one third of their population and give that to the central government at Washington. There is a delicate balance between the state and the Federal government; that balance has been preserved through our Constitution. The gentlemen of the Affirmative would take away from the states the control of forty million children under the age of eighteen; they would give that control to the Federal government. It is for them to justify that and to show that it would not upset that equilibrium between the state and the central government.

And along the same line, there is still another danger — it is in education. Every child-labor law regulates education. There is no use arguing that point. The gentlemen of the Affirmative have told you that. They condemn state educational laws today and say that the Federal government should control education. What does that particular thing mean? It means that our system of education today in the United States would be overthrown; it means that our community, our local control, based on the idea that the community knows best what it is the children should learn, should be turned over to the Federal government, the state should be taken out of the schoolhouse and Congress allowed to dictate the courses in the curriculum. All child-labor laws are justified on the ground of protection to the children. This law cannot be justified on those grounds, it goes up to the age of eighteen years of age. That means that the children who have finished their educational requirements, who are sixteen and over, and who are physically able to work are not permitted work; it means that we raise up a great class of loafers in the country — children who are not in school and who are not allowed to work.

The gentlemen of the Affirmative have a sublime, almost childish belief that Congress won't use this power. Congress cleared that up for us when it foresaw that and voted down an amendment to this amendment which would have limited it to the age of sixteen.

They say, again, Congress only wants this power to regulate dangerous and unhealthy occupations. Congress thought of that plan, too,

and voted down another amendment to this amendment that would have put the limit of sixteen to eighteen years only on dangerous and unhealthy occupations.

The gentlemen of the Affirmative leave out entirely from their calculations all agricultural labor. Congress didn't. Congress voted down an amendment to this amendment which said that agricultural child labor over the age of sixteen shall be allowed. What have the gentlemen of the Affirmative to offer contrary to that? Congress knows what it is going to do. The gentlemen of the Affirmative are guessing. They set their guess up against what Congress has already voted on.

The least that can be said is this: we don't know what Congress will do with this power. We are giving them certain unlimited powers. It is the same thing as signing your name to a blank check and giving it to someone else. We believe the best thing to do is not to take a chance; let's limit the power we give to Congress or not give it to them at all.

Senator Thomas of Colorado said that on account of the eighteen-year-old ruling this is the cruelest bit of legislation ever passed by the United States Senate.

We of the Negative have shown you this evening that the proposed action is unnecessary on account of the states' success today; that it is impracticable because it will centralize the government, build up a bureaucracy and destroy real control of local problems; and finally we have shown you that it is absolutely dangerous to the American people, in that it upsets the balance between the state and the Federal government, destroys local control of education and raises up a class in the United States which will not be protected by the law but will be injured by it. [1]

The speaker at the outset meets the challenge of the affirmative to the negative, "to take those Federal laws and show where in those laws the Federal government interfered with education." He shows by specific examples the weaknesses of those laws; next he refutes the argument of the preceding speaker of the affirmative, that "this policy and this amendment is in accord with our national principles."

[1] *University Debaters' Annual* (1925–1926), pp. 369–374. The H. W. Wilson Company.

He next proceeds to analyze the examples as brought up by the affirmative to show that these examples are "all interstate in character." The next part of his speech attempts to prove that this amendment is "absolutely dangerous." Continually the affirmative is cited, and the speech is largely developed as a series of running rebuttals.

VI. Rebuttal in the Second Series of Speeches

Some critics of debate, especially those who advocate the open forum, have advised the abandonment of the rebuttal speech because of its artificiality. As long as contest debating maintains its supremacy, however, the demand for this speech will doubtless continue. It was evolved as a device to give each speaker opportunity to defend his own issue and to reply to any part of the case of the other side. Substitutes for it have been worked out, as, for example, a system of cross-examination of one team by the other or by the audience; but its fairness in giving to the audience and the judge a more complete impression of a team is generally recognized.

VII. Organization of the Rebuttal Speech

The second speech should contain no added argument but should, of course, include fresh evidence. It should be well organized. The tendency of debaters when they rebut is to take up a promiscuous assortment of detached points. The result is a mixture of materials, an obscurity of thinking, and a lack of logical sequence of ideas. The material of rebuttal should be selected intelligently, arranged logically, and stated clearly and convincingly. The high-water mark of debating should be attained in the rebuttal. It is impossible to draw up a formula for the structure of every rebuttal speech. The exigencies of an individual debate will alone decide the character and content of the appropriate rebuttal. Nevertheless a general plan, to be applied with flexibility, is here recommended.

A. **Statement of an Issue.** Because most rebuttals are scattered and incidental, it is highly desirable to organize the material under a general head or about a general issue. Note how scattered as rebuttal is the following first sentence: "The affirmative speaker argued that, whereas it cost four dollars to mine a ton of coal, the retail price for the same was as high as seventeen dollars." A much clearer approach from the point of view of good debate and of the audience would be to proceed as follows:

An outstanding issue is, Is government ownership and operation of the coal mines necessary? The speaker for the affirmative argued that such program is necessary because of the high price of anthracite coal under the present plan of private monopoly. He told us, for example, that, whereas the cost of mining a ton of coal was four dollars, it has been retailed for as much as seventeen dollars. In reply, etc.

The second of these methods makes clear the relation of the opposing speaker's argument to the main issue and, moreover, the relation of the specific evidence to that argument.

B. **A Clear Statement of an Argument advanced by the Opponent under that Issue.** Sometimes the relation of opposing arguments to each other and to the rebuttal may not be clear. It is therefore a great help to all concerned if the speaker will state the whole matter in terms of fundamental issues, as suggested in the preceding paragraph. The principle here to be observed is that of stating the opposing argument rather than restating one's own case. When the rebuttal opens, it is high time to attack rather than defend. It should also be added that the attack should be made upon a main argument rather than upon minor ones. It is sometimes a temptation to pick out a weak but vulnerable spot in the opposition and attack it with such vigor as forcefully to impress the audience. In the long run, however, audiences, or at least skilled judges, decide in favor of those debaters who in rebuttal systematically take up all the major arguments constituting the opposing case. Hence we suggest stating the opposing arguments in relation to the three or four issues involved.

C. **A Statement of the Specific Evidence presented by the Other Side.** After the stating of the issue and of the opposing argument, the use of evidence is next noted. Under one general argument will usually be found several bits of evidence. These should be taken up and disposed of in turn. The problem, again, is to begin with issues and arguments rather than with the evidence itself. The rebuttal will be much more effective if this evidence, like the argument to which it is related, is clearly and fairly stated. It is a great achievement to quote accurately and fully the argument and evidence to be refuted.

D. **Refutation by Specific Means.** Thus argument and evidence are to be refuted by all the devices mentioned in the preceding sections. The typical and easiest methods of refutation are those of attacking the accuracy of the facts, showing the misusé of authorities, exposing hasty generalizations, false analogy, and false causal relation. In addition, fresh evidence, not touched upon in the main speech, should here be introduced.

E. **Summary of One's Argument.** After the arguments and evidence have been analyzed and refuted in turn, it is then logical for the speaker to revert to his own constructive case and to that of his collaborators and to summarize the points as concisely and vigorously as possible. A few words of appeal may be added. This summary will enable the skillful debater to show a sharp contrast between the rival positions and to strike a balance which will be favorable to his own cause.

F. **A Statement of what remains for the Opposition to Prove.** Although the rebuttal is logically complete at this point, added clearness and force will no doubt result if the speaker adds the final step of enumerating the specific line of argument which the other side must develop to maintain their case successfully. This statement of what remains to be proved may be partly set forth in the form of questions. Of course, if we are considering the final affirmative rebuttal, it is obvious that the speaker will not ask questions other than rhetorical ones of his opponents when the rules of debating compel the negative to remain silent.

On many occasions the formula outlined above will be almost entirely discarded and changed. Many debaters, for example, prefer to end their rebuttal with a so-called appeal rather than with a statement of what remains to be done. The framework, however, can be profitably applied.

VIII. Exemplification

Compare the two rebuttals following, as illustrations of the application on the formula outlined above. The first one is the first affirmative rebuttal speech of the proposition Resolved, *That members of the president's cabinet should have seats and a vote in both Houses of Congress.*

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is well to clarify and simplify this debate. *The first great issue to be settled tonight is whether the cabinet attendance upon Congress is necessary.* We outlined for you the situation today in our Congressional System. We explained the glaring weaknesses, the divided responsibility, the economic chaos, the resulting legislative methods necessary in our executive department to get things done, the lack of debate, and the general inefficiency of our Congressional Government. Taft in his book, *The Presidency*, numerous congressional committees, even Harding and Coolidge themselves, all recognize and lament this high degree of confusion. We have offered a simple, conservative remedy, which will not perfect our system, but which will be a vast improvement over the present unbusinesslike arrangement. What have the negative done? They have merely *cavilled at* our proposal and have built up a series of debating bugaboos — a smoke screen, as it were, — to conceal their own position. They face a desperately poor piece of machinery, and they do absolutely nothing about it. Let the next gentleman tell us what he intends to do about these matters.

What about the *divided responsibility*? The scattering of responsibility between the President, the house leaders, senate leaders, minority and majority parties, and sixty house and seventy senate committees? Not a suggestion do the negative make. They merely declare that part of the time our proposal will not work because Congress may be of one party and the President of another. We admit that on such occasions inaction may result — although we note that much was accomplished

even during the later Wilson régime when this state of affairs prevailed. But we do claim that, even during these stagnant interludes, much more progress would be made than at present is possible when cabinet members are denied admission to the floor. And in those times of harmony the gentleman agrees that our plan would definitely expedite legislation and so save infinitely in time, money, and committee labor.

What do the gentlemen propose to do about this *budget* which blind committees in each house will mangle wittingly or unwittingly? Ladies and gentlemen, the negative leave our much-needed budget in confusion. They merely cry out that under the present plan the Director of the Budget cannot be haled into Congress. But if the cabinet goes, the work of each branch of that organization will be fully reported. In other words a way will easily be found by the President, whose interest is all in getting the facts before Congress, to send the Director there. It means merely the creation of another cabinet officer, a director of the budget. Surely the negative will agree that this plan would present no difficulty or meet with no opposition.

Again, what do the negative propose to do about this matter of secret government? We would give proper publicity to proceedings by having the cabinet talk in the light of day. They would continue the plan of having the President resort to cajoling, and private bargaining — autocratic bossism. What do they say to our proposal? Merely that our plan will legalize autocracy — whatever that means. If to give President Coolidge an opportunity to explain and defend his policies openly means legalizing autocracy, we are all for that dreadful alternative. But the plan does not mean that — and this audience knows that it doesn't. Rather it means that our executive will abandon these subterfuges because they will no longer be necessary.

Finally we propose through cabinet responsibility to restore debate. What will the negative do? Apparently let matters continue in the committee dark room. Committees *are* of value. But how much better will it be for the ten leaders of executive policy to go in turn to both houses and give the members and the country an intelligent statement of things and encourage open debate, upon which the whole nation can focus. How much better will it be, even though heckling and so-called vicious interpellation may result?

In a word, we have analyzed the situation and have proposed a remedy. The negative propose absolutely nothing except to say that more information isn't needed.

This rebuttal attempts to stick to a fundamental issue. It attacks the negative, not so much for what they say as for what they do not say. The speech is good in many respects, but is too largely a repetition of the main argument. Where the negative are quoted, the quotations are not sufficiently clear, and not enough fresh evidence is brought up to establish further the affirmative point of view. A certain fervid rhetoric, rather than close reasoning, pervades this speech.

Compare with the following, the second affirmative rebuttal on the subject RESOLVED, *That the United States government should create a commission empowered to supervise and control the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce:*

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The gentlemen of the opposition have presented their argument under five points. I shall attempt to answer each one separately. They say that the coal industry is functioning properly at present. The Congress of the United States expended $600,000 to investigate the industry. This commission found that the miners worked an average of two hundred and fifteen days each year out of a possible three hundred and nine working days. It found that coal sold at the mines for about $6.50 per ton and retailed for as much as $15.00 per ton. It found *further* that one miner in every twenty is killed and one in seven is injured annually. I ask you then frankly and candidly, Is the industry functioning properly?

The second point advanced by the gentlemen of the opposition is that the coal problem is so diverse as to make government regulation impossible. The very fact that the industry is diverse, that it is scattered over thirty-eight states, that it includes forty-five mining districts, forty-four of which do an interstate business, makes regulation by the Federal government necessary.

Their third point is that the plan, which we of the Affirmative advocate, is unpopular. They quote in support of this point a statement from the National Coal Operators' Association. Judges, we did not expect our plan or the recommendations of the temporary Coal Commission to please the operators.

Their fourth point is that the plan which we advocate is unconstitutional. Judges, if Congress created a temporary coal commission and gave it power to investigate the coal industry and make recom-

mendations to Congress, if this commission had the expert legal advice of the Department of Justice with all its talent and such other legal talent as it might choose, and then it brought in recommendations which are unconstitutional, as our opponents allege, then how are intercollegiate debaters to hit upon a constitutional plan? No two authorities are agreed as to what is constitutional and what is not. The Supreme Court often decides such questions by a five to four vote.

Their last point is that the plan which we advocate is a violation of states rights. Judges, a state cannot control interstate commerce, and the question under discussion is limited to "the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce." In 1887, Congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission. Since that time the Federal Trade Commission, Tax Commission, and Tariff Commission have been created. If such a plan as we advocate is a violation of states rights then the gentlemen of the opposition and the states have been a long time discovering the fact.

It has been the purpose of the Affirmative to prove to you four points.

First, the evils in the present system demand a change. We showed you that there is at present an excess capacity of three hundred millions of tons of coal. Since the mines are idle practically one third of the time, the public pays the overhead expense and must feed the idle miners. That means increased cost. The present operating policy makes conservation impossible. Only about 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the coal is recovered. The excessive number of middlemen makes for duplication of effort and increased cost. Coal passes through the hands of two, three, four, and even more wholesalers before reaching the retailer.

Our second point is that regulation by the Federal government is the only feasible and logical remedy. Private control has failed. Periodic strikes, coal shortage, high prices and suffering on the part of the public is the order now.

State control is unconstitutional because of the statement of the "industries engaged in interstate commerce" and because the industry covers thirty-eight states and forty-five districts, forty-four of which engage in interstate commerce.

Our third point is that the plan, which we advocate, is practicable because it will remedy the evils of overdevelopment by refusing to license any new mines for a period of five years. It will prevent strikes by removing the cause. It will remedy transportation evils by an extension of the licensing system. It will eliminate waste by providing a market

for all grades of coal and enabling the operator to work his mine clean. It will also conserve this natural resource for future generations.

The plan is American in principle because it is in line with recent tendencies in our government. Congress controls various national activities by creating commissions and delegating to each the power to regulate its particular industry. The Federal Trade Commission, the Tax Commission, the Tariff Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are examples. There is precedent for the licensing system. The Federal government regulates the manufacture and sale of opiates, meats, food, and drugs.

Coal is the black servant of our nation and the world. It begins at birth and continues through life and death its ministry of service. Therefore, can we not reasonably ask "That the United States government create a commission empowered to supervise and control the coal industries engaged in interstate commerce"? [1]

This rebuttal is much more direct than the previous example. The specific arguments of the negative are stated — usually with clarity — and are met with concrete counter evidence. Then the affirmative case is summarized with much — almost too much — elaborateness. Finally a brief appeal is added. The speech, in general, is quite mechanical, but it has coherence, force, and underlying logical consistency.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Study from the point of view of rebuttal and refutation the first Lincoln-Douglas debate.

2. Study the rebuttal elements in Webster's reply to Hayne (second speech).

3. Criticize the character of the following rebuttal on the subject RESOLVED, *That immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of ten years.*

(First rebuttal for the affirmative)

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: According to the first speaker for the negative, the immigration problem is an illusion existing in our minds. He has told you that since 1924 the problem has

[1] *University Debaters' Annual* (1925–1926), pp. 83–85. The H. W. Wilson Company.

been largely a bogy. He has given you quotations to show that the American people have always been unnecessarily afraid of this bogy. On the other hand, the gentleman has not questioned the statements that I made in my first speech. If, in the face of this evidence which thus far stands unquestioned, the gentleman is willing to call this great problem a bogy, all so well for the gentleman; but will you accept this? You will not be satisfied with his sentimental appeal to your sympathies. You will demand of him further and full evidence to combat the proof that I have given you on the authority of the United States Government itself to the effect that even the restricted immigration at present, including that from Canada and Mexico, is a real threat.

The gentleman has further tried to show you that there is as he says no difference between the old immigration and the new. Yet as I pointed out to you, the Report of the Immigration Commission states on page twenty-four that the old movement was "essentially one of permanent settlers consisting of families, while that since 1890 to the present time is a movement of individuals seeking better economic conditions, a large proportion of whom will not stay in the country permanently."

In order to argue that there is no need of prohibition the gentleman has proved to you that the proportion of the alien to the resident population has not varied in the last sixty years. Although this is true, it has nothing to do with the need of prohibition. In estimating the resident population the gentleman has taken the total population of the United States while I showed you that the immigration of the last forty years has not distributed itself throughout the country. On the other hand, it has congested in a limited locality, 87 per cent settling north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. There is absolutely no validity in the comparison of the population of California or Texas with the immigrant to be assimilated in the slums of Boston.

Concerning the statement of the negative that the illiterate immigrants have not had opportunity to assimilate, we have little to say. We are not blaming the immigrant. We are willing that he should have education and economic opportunity. If, however, his interests be in conflict with the interests of the American civilization, then we hold that in spite of our sympathies, prohibition is necessary. When you have educated those who are here, when you have given them a tolerable economic condition, then it is time enough to undertake the colossal task of educating and bettering the conditions of Europe and Latin America. Charity begins at home.

The only real argument brought forth by the negative is that some immigration is still necessary to the industrial expansion of America. This is an ancient, a stock argument of those who want the bars down. If the gentlemen would prove this, they must show you the position of immigration. They must show you that the immigration came first and that capital did not take advantage of the limitless supply of cheap immigrant labor to expand their industries. They must, above all, show that expansion is still necessary. More than this they must show that immigration labor is still necessary to that expansion. They must show that that expansion has not been brought about by means which lower the standard of living — of living of the American working class. Finally they must justify that expansion by showing that it has given a commensurate degree of well-being to that all-important class — whose interests are the interests of the nation and whose future is the future of the democracy! I tell you the greatness of this country is measured in terms of exports and imports. It is not measured in terms of the production of iron or steel, or the ton mileage of freight. The gentleman tells you that these industries will ultimately be hurt if we have total prohibition. He says that prohibition will be un-American and contrary to the interests of "some people." What people? On this he has been notoriously silent. The fact is that throughout his speech he has pleaded for the capitalist class. Prohibition would hurt them, he says. Mind you, he refers to those very industries in which I have shown cheap immigrant labor is employed, and in which real wages have increased but 65 per cent since 1890 while real profits have increased 235 per cent.

The affirmative proposes the prohibition to protect the great mass of American workingmen, and to secure the political future of this country already supporting 120,000,000! The negative opposes this step and asks you to protect the capitalists and to extend their interests. You may do so. In that case, you are building an oligarchy, but you are destroying a democracy!

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CHAPTER XIII

THE AUDIENCE

I. DISCUSSION AND DEBATE A PROBLEM OF INFLUENCING THE AUDIENCE. II. ATTENTION AND ARGUMENT. III. ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES OF THE AUDIENCE. IV. RECOGNITION OF THE ESTABLISHED BELIEFS OF THE AUDIENCE. V. AUDIENCE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE QUESTION. VI. SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF ARGUMENTS THAT APPEAL. VII. SUPPLYING MOTIVES FOR ACCEPTANCE. VIII. IMAGERY IN ARGUMENT. IX. SUGGESTION IN ARGUMENT

I. Discussion and Debate a Problem of Influencing the Audience

Argumentation was previously defined as a process of influencing the belief and conduct of a hearer or reader by supplying him with reasons and motives for action. Successful discussion and debate result from securing the desired audience response. The specific end of argument is the influencing of belief and conduct. Our problem, then, is to analyze our audience and to select and arrange the material to effect a favorable decision.

II. Attention and Argument

The end of argument is action. The way to secure action is to gain attention. Psychologically the two are identical. "What we attend to controls our behavior. What we can get others to attend to controls their behavior." [1] Professor James, speaking of attention, says:

> What holds attention determines action. . . . It seems as if we ought to look for the secret of an idea's impulsiveness . . . in the urgency with which it is able to compel attention and dominate in consciousness.

[1] H. A. Overstreet, *Influencing Human Behavior*, p. 9. W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1925.

Let it once so dominate, let no other ideas succeed in displacing it, and whatever motor effects belong to it by nature will inevitably occur. . . . What checks our impulses is the mere thinking of reasons to the contrary — it is their presence in the mind which gives the veto, and makes acts, otherwise seductive, impossible to perform. If we could only forget our scruples, our doubts, our fears, what exultant energy we should for a while display![1]

Attention, then, in terms of behavior is the orientation or adaptation of the sense organs toward the source of stimulation so as to secure the most complete response. Arguing well means holding the attention of an audience. The good debater furnishes untrammeled the stimuli that will control the responses of that audience.

A. **Degrees of Attention.** In any situation various stimuli — with unequal power — are calling forth responses. When a bat flies into the church during an evening service, the audience divides its attention between speaker and bat. When the student looks out of the window and recalls the football game of the previous day, he momentarily forgets the drift of the lesson in the open book before him. This inequality of appeal or response to a given situation is due to "differences in relative intensity of the various stimuli, because of the particular orientation of our sense organs at any moment, because of the variation of conductivity in neural arcs, the result of habit and reënforcement, and because of fatigue."[2]

When without apparent effort we respond to a stimulus, we are said to have natural, or involuntary, attention. When we force our attention, as when we bend our ear or strain our eyes in an effort to facilitate the response, attention is assumed, or voluntary. Natural attention, as illustrated by that of childhood or primitive life, may be in a degree secured through the establishment of habits. The student who through effort attends to what

[1] William James, *Psychology* (Briefer Course), p. 448. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Company, publishers, 1905.

[2] Stevenson Smith and E. R. Guthrie, *General Psychology in Terms of Behavior*, p. 204. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

is to him some disagreeable subject, such as Greek, chemistry, or English, may by and by become so absorbed in it as to neglect other subjects. The problem of the speaker is to awaken and hold natural attention. How shall this be done?

***B.* Analysis of the Conditions of Attention.** Attention is largely determined by external conditions. Loud sounds, moving objects, prolonged and extensive stimuli compel attention (produce responses) whether or not the reactor chooses. The intensity of the stimulus is an important factor in securing attention. Loud sounds impress far more than faint ones.

Moving stimuli also fix attention more effectively than do stationary stimuli. This result occurs because attention changes constantly. Stimuli that secure complete response lose their power. Therefore if attention is to be retained, new aspects must be presented so that new responses will result. This principle means that in delivery variety in gesture, pitch, force, and rate must be observed: in argument it means that variety in material, evidence, argument, illustration, and method of expression must be applied. This constant variation in stimuli through the use of change and animation is perhaps the chief means of focusing attention.

Other stimuli that are effective include surprise, the familiar, the concrete, suspense, struggle (or conflict). We like new things, but for them to have meaning they must be presented in relation to things familiar (experienced).

We find the effort to establish entirely new habit-responses an undue tax; on the other hand we lose interest when we become perfectly adjusted. In the same way we prefer the concrete to the abstract, because definite imageries call for a more complete response than do abstract conceptions. Suspense, or the uncertain, also appeals, because the stimulus is incomplete. So a play or story or moving picture holds attention because we move uncertainly until the end. An argument will be more interesting if it proceeds from particular to general; in other words, inductively.

Finally, conflict (or struggle), because it falls short of complete response, has basic appeal. Thus football games, battles of the

Argonne, struggles to fly from New York to Paris or to encircle the north pole, and wars of big business never fail to appeal. The lure of a romance or well-told short story is due to the application of these means of exciting interest. Familiar settings or characters have introduced into them a unique element that avoids the trite and the merely familiar. Concrete portrayal of situation and character, through vivid description, dialogue, or rapid movement, so grips our imagination as to involve us in the very heart of the action. The basic feature of the plot structure is conflict, between man and self, man and nature, the forces of civilization, or against the supernatural. The quality of suspense underlies every phase and insures a close reading to the end. These same principles may be applied to a speech, whether it be a lecture or an argument.

III. Analysis of Specific Interests and Attitudes of the Audience

In addition to this understanding of the general action tendencies which challenge and hold attention the debater will analyze the specific interests of the audience and their attitude toward the question. The salesman before approaching his prospect finds it desirable to make a fairly complete inventory of the interests and special traits of the prospect. If the interviewed is interested in golf or tennis, is a member of a well-known country club, president of some service club, a radio "fan," a college graduate, a banker, a reader of Joseph Conrad and Stevenson, a Republican, or a Methodist, these and similar facts are significant in determining the type of argument to be presented.

Even the college debater who hopes for a decision from the critic-judge has his audience. The contest debater will doubtless modify his presentation in the light of the educational and other experiences, interests, and attitudes of the judge. If it is known that the critic-judge discounts humor and relishes plain statement reënforced by abundant evidence, the arguer will in his

presentation not ignore such information. However, every good contest arguer speaks to the audience as well as to the judge.

Like the salesman or the contest debater, the persuader before another type of audience will make his analysis with equal care. He will classify the group as urban or rural, as native or as Irish, Scotch, or German in ancestry, as largely adult male or female, as well educated or otherwise, as allied with certain religious, political, and community interests. Obviously such data are difficult to secure. Nevertheless a knowledge of the group, — its specific and general interests, cultural level, emotional character, and probable solidarity — should if possible be clearly understood.

IV. Recognition of the Established Beliefs of the Audience

Important in the audience analysis is the discovery of the favorite habits of thought or the cherished beliefs of your audience. Each listener moves within a limited field of experience and thinking. The farmer within his universe, the business man in his world of affairs, — each develops a mental pattern into which he tries to fit each new situation or "conceptual system." As long as fresh ideas can be interpreted in terms of the established order, no confusion results. If, however, an argument cuts across the structure of his world and threatens it, the auditor in sheer self-defense deafens his ears to the proposals.[1] To understand the strength of ideas that possess men and women is to grasp more intelligently the problem of successful argument. If you plead for the adherence of the United States to a League of Nations, you must understand how firmly entrenched in the American mind is the tenet of isolation. If you argue for disarmament, you must face the audience's "stereotype" or "mental pattern" of a country prepared to fight. So the group, although for the most part

[1] See Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, pp. 95 ff. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922. See also W. N. Brigance, *The Spoken Word*, pp. 165 ff. F. S. Crofts & Co., 1927.

it has done so uncritically, has built up a whole series of convictions, many of which are so deeply founded as to defy destruction or alteration.

V. Audience Attitude toward the Question

Again, the attitude of the listeners toward the subject determines largely the selection of material and order of presentation. Toward the proposition the audience may be (1) strongly favorable, (2) slightly favorable, (3) undecided or indifferent, (4) slightly opposed, or (5) strongly opposed.

Those who are strongly favorable to the speaker enthusiastically applaud each sentiment. Such an audience may be a group of Republicans listening to a defense of the policy of high tariff, or an audience of college-fraternity men attending an argument in support of secret societies on the campus, or a gathering of Chinese students hearing a plea for foreigners to abandon extraterritorial rights in China.

In a distinct group are those who are doubtful about the proposition or indifferent to it. To this section of an audience the speaker's chief energy will be directed. His real victory comes, not so much in quickening the enthusiasm of those favorably inclined as in persuading those who have been open-minded and genuinely deliberative.

The greatest problem is of course influencing the hostile or opposing group. Such listeners may pretend to be open-minded or think they are receptive to logic. In reality they reject whatever argument fails to coincide with their established beliefs. A lifelong Republican after hearing a twenty-minute speech urging him to vote the Democratic ticket is not often converted to Democratic doctrines. Nevertheless advance knowledge of the audience attitude will surely help the arguer to shape his speech more effectively. Favorable auditors become more favorable, deliberative minds incline to vote for the speaker, and even an occasional opposer will relent as the speaker suggests new beliefs that may be linked up with set attitudes.

VI. Selection and Arrangement of Arguments that Appeal

The audience analysis once made, the debater should select from the brief those arguments that will best accomplish his purpose. The brief thus becomes not a speech plan to be followed slavishly but a logical survey to be adapted to the particular occasion. The speaker answers the problems What arguments will best attach themselves to the established beliefs of the audience? What arguments may be used best to enable the speaker to keep on common ground with his listeners and lead them to the proper conclusion?

To illustrate, suppose a speaker is to develop the following argument (detailed evidence is here omitted):

Resolved, *That the United States should adopt a policy of further material increase of the navy.*

I. A larger navy is necessary, for
   A. War threatens in the near future;
   B. Our national defenses are inadequate, for
      1. Our army is small;
      2. Our navy is deficient in battle cruisers and submarines.
   C. Existing international agencies, such as the League of Nations and the World Court, are unable to prevent a conflict.

II. A larger navy would foster international peace, for
   A. Our strength would make other countries hesitate to quarrel with us;
   B. Our strength would lead us to become more active in promoting world peace;
   C. Our strength would increase our prestige.
   D. Our big navy would not lead the United States to develop the spirit of militarism.

III. The building of a larger navy would be a desirable expenditure of money, for
   A. A big navy would be cheap insurance;
   B. The sum involved would not be sufficiently large to prevent the reduction of national taxes;
   C. The program would afford employment to many steel and other workers.

Suppose you are talking to a group of students, the large majority of whom intend to vote against your proposition. You would probably stress the arguments that

1. War threatens.
2. Our national defenses are inadequate.
3. The existing international agencies for peace are unable to prevent a conflict.

By tying up these arguments to the established beliefs that "War is a terrible calamity," "War will destroy my individual happiness," "A nation should be prepared for defense," you may overcome the opposition.

Again, assume that your audience is a woman's club of some church. Most of them presumably have a strong distrust of big armies and navies and an idealistic conception of the times when "war shall be no more." For this group you will probably argue that

1. A larger navy would foster international peace.
2. Other countries would hesitate to quarrel with us.
3. Our strength would lead us to become more active in promoting world peace.

Again, you are invited to address a dinner of business men, most of whom have indicated their opposition to your position. Here the third section of your brief will perhaps be used:

1. The building of a larger navy would be a desirable expenditure of money.
2. A big navy would be cheap insurance.
3. The sum involved would not be sufficiently large to prevent the reduction of national taxes.

Other arguments, such as

(1) war threatens;
(2) our national defenses are inadequate;

would be necessary to the completion of a logical case. But complete response from each audience necessitates the stressing of those special arguments that fit in most readily with the mind patterns of the listeners.

VII. Supplying Motives for Acceptance

Argumentative speeches are commonly regarded as almost purely rational compositions. Indeed, many debate judges discount those debaters who depart in the slightest from the field of statistics in proof. Genuine argument, nevertheless, which definitely influences human beings, furnishes motives for belief or conduct.

An analysis of any effective debate proves that the series of rational arguments becomes a series of emotional appeals. If, for example, you are arguing in favor of establishing a policy of more extensive national defense, you may prove that the possibilities of war are present; that Japan, Italy, France, Russia, Germany, or England, or any combination of these powers, may some day array themselves against America; that to deal with this situation our naval, military, airplane, and other resources are inadequate; that a proper strengthening of the army and navy and air forces would be a great preventive of war and would give us victory in the event of war; that the policy would promote world peace because, well equipped, we would be in a better position to influence warlike nations to settle their differences by peaceful means; that the cost would be justified.

Each of these arguments, however, would carry with it strong emotional stimuli: the appeal of patriotism, fear of future wars, pride in our own past, love of justice, hatred of selfish and belligerent nations, race prejudice, religious feeling, international friendship, pity for weak nations, duty to promote peace, zeal in self-protection, rebuke of complacency, admiration for good deeds done, good will, courage, hope, and various other emotions.

To the extent that the emotions which stimulate approval are aroused will the speech be successful. As James says:

> When any strong emotional state whatever is upon us, the tendency is for no images but such as are congruous with it to come up. If others by chance offer themselves, they are instantly smothered and crowded out. If we be joyous, we cannot keep thinking of those uncertainties

and risks of failure which abound in our path; if lugubrious, we cannot think of new triumphs, travels, loves, and joys; nor if vengeful, of our oppressor's community of nature with ourselves.[1]

Our object, then, is to inhibit those emotions that are associated with objections and to stimulate those that accompany approval of our argument.

***A.* Nature of Emotion.** Recent descriptions of emotion agree that it is a consciousness, or *awareness*, of bodily changes, these bodily changes resulting from some stimulus which is communicated to the higher centers of the nervous system. "This fused complex of sensory experience is what we call an emotion." [2]

***B.* Classification of Emotions.**[3] Primary emotions are usually limited to fear (anger) and love (or sex). Based upon this division is a category of emotions which include sympathy, admiration, gratitude, hope, pride, friendship, good will, approbation, pity, esteem, and similar terms under love; and hatred, indignation, contempt, revenge, shame, jealousy, and various others under fear or anger.

***C.* Emotion and Motives.** All emotions are motives. Hunger drives its subject to secure food; fear leads to flight; anger, to warfare. Each emotion is presumably in part a tendency to action. The stronger the emotion the more clearly is it associated with behavior and so with motivation. If you are to succeed as a debater, you should understand the motives which control human conduct, such "impelling motives" as self-preservation, profit, personal and social convenience, necessity, indignation, and duty.

1. *Self-Preservation.* Self-preservation is no doubt the strongest motive governing human beings. It is the expression of our determination to live as long as possible, "the universal will to live

[1] William James, *Psychology* (Briefer Course), p. 451. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Company, publishers, 1905.

[2] F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, p. 84. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

[3] For a classification and discussion of feelings and emotions consult C. E. Seashore, *An Introduction to Psychology*, pp. 302–337. The Macmillan Company, 1924.

which forms the basis of all particular volitions and supplies the motive power to our plans, purposes, preparations, and policies for our own and others' good." [1] The battle for self-preservation means a struggle to avoid all situations that involve pain or threaten the life of the individual or the race. A multitude of arguments involves directly or indirectly the appeal to follow a policy because it will assure us freedom from pain, discomfort, bodily inconvenience, worry, and will positively add to our well-being, safety, and security. "Take Dr. Swamproot's Elixir Compound, because it will cure rheumatism," "Vote for the bill to require all vehicles to stop before crossing railroad tracks," "Support the movement for stricter enforcement of the local quarantine law," "Prohibit immigration entirely, because otherwise our country will presently have more people than we can find food for," "Join the League of Nations so that we may remove the wars which threaten," "Let us build up a larger navy, because Japan is doing so," "Join the World Court," "Establish a larger standing army, because war threatens, and a combination of European powers against us would be able to handle our paltry army," "Let us have compulsory military training in American colleges and universities." These and many other appeals rely for their acceptance upon the motive of self-preservation by suggesting a removal of dangers that threaten.

2. *Profit.* The acquisitive habit is almost as strongly operative as is that of self-preservation. Whoever debates effectively a question of policy will make much of the "dollar and cents" argument. Since profit means power, reputation, happiness for one's family and oneself, and apparently almost every other benefit, the motive of material gain is tremendously important. If you show that cancellation of war debts will bring to the United States European customers for our copper and other wares, you will increase the number of business men who support your proposition. If you show that the city-manager plan of municipal

[1] Lawrence Pearsall Jacks. *Religious Perplexities*, p. 14. George H. Doran Company, 1923.

government will eliminate political graft and so reduce the expenses of city government, you will gain the approval of the voter. So you will justify your advocacy of a lower protective tariff, a state income tax, an inheritance, sales, single, or property tax, by convincing your audience that such policy will mean for them individually lower taxes. In each of these cases the opposing speaker will counter by attempting to demonstrate that the proposal will result in increased financial burdens. Questions, primarily economic, are of course much more likely to lead to the issue of "practicability." The chief reason for or against government ownership of railroads, coal mines, or telephones has to do with the effect upon the private pocketbook. Similarly, government aid to the unemployed, workmen's compensation laws, legislation for war veterans, old-age pensions, ship subsidies, water-power development, conservation policies, inland-waterway development, have all been vigorously opposed because each program would threaten to reduce the citizen's income without bringing proportional benefits in service.

3. *Personal and Social Convenience.* Sometimes an admittedly costly undertaking can be demonstrated to yield great returns in pleasure or in convenience to the individual and to the community. "It costs more — but it pays" has been the slogan for many an article. Such has been the basis for the argument in support of propositions such as "The state of Iowa should adopt a policy of more rapid development of a state-wide hard-surfaced-road program," "The state of Texas should increase its appropriation for public instruction," "The city of Lewisville should build and support a municipal dancing pavilion," "Washington College should establish a school of music," "The state university should build a little-theater building," "A municipal university should be established in Chicago." The justification for such programs is based upon a variety of reasons, such as *need* and *practicability*; but the main appeal is probably that of sheer pleasure or convenience to the members of the community. "Buy the Swift car because of its easy-riding qualities — and its speed."

4. *Necessity.* It is customary in many arguments of policy to show the necessity for such action. Regardless of cost, pleasure, profit, reputation, or other considerations, if it can be made clear to the listener that a given program *must be* followed, then action may be secured on that basis alone. The formula for such appeal would be, "It is a case of this or nothing"; "If you do not act, disaster follows"; "You *must* do this, whether you like it or not." Usually, however, the argument and the accompanying appeal are made doubly attractive by a picturing of the immense benefits which follow. The program is not only necessary, but it is advantageous in numerous ways — and, in addition, a practicable course of action.

Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes in the United States has been advocated as necessary, because inaction will result in the stoppage of transportation on public carriers, with the resultant starving of the community. (Note that the appeal here is partly based on self-preservation.) A further defense of the policy would be the argument that the policy would strengthen the labor unions and result in a higher standard of living for the laborer, a blessing not vitally connected with the plea of necessity. Finally, it has been shown that compulsory arbitration would have the support of the public, that strikes would actually diminish, and that the findings of the arbitration boards would be effectively enforced.

Necessity has been made the cornerstone of many an argument in support of new school buildings, the adoption of prohibition, the settling of the slavery question, the preservation of the Union, the establishment of conscription in 1917, the limitation of immigration into America, the passage by Congress of an eight-hour day for railroad workers, the passage of a soldier-bonus bill, the passage of appropriations by Congress to fight boll weevils, build post offices, dredge rivers, and so on. Many a legislator has said, "This one thing I must do"; just as many a patient, listening to medical advice, has decided upon a serious operation.

5. *Ambition.* Closely allied with the motives of profit, self-preservation, and pleasure is the universal craving for power, reputation, and social recognition. We are not content merely to live and to live at ease. We seek ability to control others, to compel attention, and to force obedience to our will. This position of influence will of course enable us to command the resources from which we may draw our security and happiness. From this comes the ambition of the man or woman to excel in the competition for scholastic honors, for business or professional success; the desire of the community or state to outstrip its neighbors; the national ambition to compare favorably with other nations in armaments, athletics, intellectual and æsthetic achievements. Note the type of appeal suggested by the following arguments: "Subscribe for the Memorial Union, for we want to have the finest university student center in America"; "Subscribe for this correspondence course, for after a few years you will rise from clerk to business executive to whom directors will defer"; "Win your next football game, so that the campus will have a new pride in its athletics"; "Build a million-dollar high-school building, so that our city will have a reputation for educational progressiveness"; "Maintain the open door in China, in order that we may capture the trade of the Orient"; "Let us withhold recognition of Russia, so that that country will understand that she must fulfill her obligation to respect American lives and property."

6. *Indignation.* One of the primary emotions is that of anger or indignation. Of course a deliberate attempt to arouse a baser passion is not here advocated. Nevertheless indignation, properly directed, becomes a laudable motive in driving men to action and is not to be ignored in any effective speech. The only proper way to rid the world of unworthy institutions is to arouse a strong emotional reaction — hatred — against them. Thus you may be justified in arousing your audience to intelligent indignation against boss rule in the community, against the reign of crime, against some strong government that seems to trample upon its

impotent neighbor, against cheating in school examinations, against social organizations that discriminate against less-fortunate social groups, against the practice of race discrimination. A deep sense of indignation was the underlying motive governing the following arguments: "Adopt Federal child-labor legislation, for capitalists today employ five million child slaves in their shops"; "Support the closed shop, because employers are crushing out those unions that attempt to exist in the open shop."

7. *Duty.* Men will often follow a course of conduct if you appeal to their sense of duty. A sense of right, conscience, character, will lead to action when lower motives fail. "Do this because your obligation to yourself and to your fellows calls for such action" is an effective appeal, especially to those whose moral and religious training has been thorough. The problem is that of identifying the situation with the responsibilities of the individual. So the minister ends his weekly argument with a strong exhortation for every listener to do his duty. The appeal is strong if it is properly stated; but since it is used so many, many times, especial care needs to be used in the expression of the exhortation. As a debater you may be accused of "preaching," and your call to duty will fall flat.

An appeal for elimination of professionalism in college athletics, for establishing the honor system in college examinations, for improvement of the fraternity system, for better habits of college study, and for many another local policy, may be most vigorously presented from the point of view of duty. Each member of the audience may feel his personal relationship to the matter involved. More difficult is it to get response when we are urged to do our duty in giving the Philippines their independence or in abandoning extraterritorial rights in China. What have we directly to do with China?

Thus when the debater urges us to "do our duty to the farmer by lowering the tariff," we may remain cold because we belong to some urban class or because the whole controversy is to us purely an academic one. But since this motive of duty is a com-

paratively lofty one, the debater must make especial effort to apply it. When successfully expressed it is very effective; for example, in connection with such subjects as those having to do with the World Court, disarmament, Japanese immigration, compulsory voting, capital punishment, and similar political and social topics which evidently admit of the so-called "moral" appeal.

8. *Justice.* As people in this generation are often moved by the appeal to duty, so are they influenced by sentiments of justice. The Golden Rule has so far been accepted by the audience — or at least by the type of audience which the school or college debater usually faces — that men and women have a keen regard for the rights of the other fellow. If he fails to get what he is entitled to, so may the similar rights of other individuals be lost. Moreover, a great satisfaction comes to those who feel that they are on the right side morally of any controversy. Office seekers strive to convince the public that their platform is a righteous one and that the rival platform is correspondingly unholy. The Republican party heralds itself as the champion of the workingman, of the farmer, of every group that needs support, and struggles valiantly to make clear that the party motive is invariably to distribute justice to all interests and classes, at home and abroad. The Democratic party, no matter whether the issue is prohibition, tariff, or methods of securing the nomination, strives with equal zeal to identify its own arguments with abstract justice; and the tenets and policies of Republicanism with much that is unjust. Wilson in his forty speeches delivered in his Western trip of 1919, to persuade his countrymen to support the League of Nations, continually sounded a high note of justice to all nations.

Almost every school or college debate strikes, and strikes effectively, for justice; for example, a Stanford debating team in a debate with the University of California on the proposition RESOLVED, *That the California criminal-syndicalism law should be repealed* [1] continually made this appeal. One speaker attempted to

[1] *University Debaters' Annual* (1923–1924), pp. 59 ff. The H. W. Wilson Company.

prove that the law in question made mere talking a criminal act, made belonging to an organization a crime, and made for "discriminatory suppression in that it leaves untouched, advocacy of crime for other purposes." Then the speaker showed that these things were essentially unjust. The second affirmative rebuttal closed thus:

> America arose as a protest to suppression. America grew and prospered because she fostered the suppressed peoples and suppressed ideas of the Old World. . . . In the height of our glory, are we, as good Americans, — better, are we, as sincere human beings, — going to allow smug self-complacency to deny our contemporaries the very rights which are the basis of our existence?

9. *Loyalty to Friends, Home, Country.* Another high motive which controls the average member of the audience is that of sacrifice for those for whom he has deep affection. If the speaker can convince the listener that the proposal will help his family and friends, then a motive for approval is supplied sometimes stronger than that of a purely selfish appeal. The patriotic appeal, if it is sincere and stated in terms that are not extravagant, is justified and, despite times of national cynicism, is highly effective. Men and women are more powerfully moved by the picture of themselves as loyal to their country than they are willing to admit. It has been customary and reasonable to fill with patriotic sentiment debates on such subjects as restriction of Japanese immigration, the disregard of party lines in elections, tariff changes, suppression of lynching, conservation of forests, subsidizing the merchant marine, canceling war debts due this country, intervention in Mexico, protection of the Panama Canal, or the carrying out of a specified policy with respect to France, Italy, or some other great power. The danger in this call for patriotism is that sometimes it becomes blatant, hollow chauvinism, or jingoism. Only genuine invitation to intelligent loyalty should be used. Sometimes an even wider appeal, that of love for all nations, can be successfully stressed, as when the League of Nations or the World Court is under discussion.

10. *Other Sentiments.* Pity, gratitude, generosity, and other sentiments play an important part in arguments. The problem is to analyze properly the specific interests of a given audience and sound those emotional notes that produce the maximum desired effect. The situation calls for an understanding of the question and of the audience. If self-interest and altruism conflict, the result will be negative. Use those motives which will most easily accomplish your purpose. Build up sentiments which ally the listener with your argument and which render that same listener immune to counter suggestions from the opposing speaker.

***D.* The Personality of the Speaker.** The emotional drift of any speech will be governed not only by the specific lines of appeal suggested above but by that vague factor we call the speaker's personality. If the audience has confidence in the speaker, if his personality so dominates that all opposition is for the time broken, then the proposition will be accepted, attention held, and the decision reached.

1. *Tact.* Tact, positively considered, is the ability to say those things which impress favorably the listener; negatively, it is the good judgment to avoid saying those things that create inhibitions. Many a debate, otherwise quite satisfactory from the point of view of delivery and of argument and of evidence, has fallen flat because of the speaker's failure to say the appropriate thing, or his disposition to say the highly inappropriate thing. It has been said that nine tenths of the art of public speaking lies in the tactful statement of ideas. The proper method of procedure in developing or exercising tact is to understand your audience. Tactlessness usually results from failure to understand human nature in general, and specifically the people composing the immediate audience. Most debaters, before they have proceeded far, have offended those people in the audience who dislike highly opinionated statements, those who dislike rapid-fire delivery or undue aggressiveness or numerous statistics, or those who have definite opinions in regard to race, religion, politics, and other matters. Obviously one who is conscientious and candid cannot

avoid stirring up audience antagonisms, but the less hostility created the more unanimous the approval at the end. Certain it is that unnecessary offense is often given and that the use of tact will minimize or prevent hostile feeling without requiring any real slighting of the argument advanced. The tactful arguer will by all means avoid an air of lofty condescension in which he assures his listeners, "Let me tell you that this thing must be stopped." He will avoid indicting his audience for political or other views which most of them are known to hold, he will allay known prejudices, he will avoid a preaching tone, and he will adopt a platform manner neither too stiffly remote from his hearers nor too intimate.

2. *Sincerity.* More confidence is given to that arguer who evidently believes what he states and who is genuinely concerned that the audience hold similar beliefs. Nothing so ruins the effect of good argument as a suggestion of insincerity. The Great Man, according to Carlyle, is the sincere man.

> I should say sincerity, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic. Not the sincerity that calls itself sincere; ah, no, that is a very poor matter indeed; — a shallow, braggart, conscious sincerity; oftenest self-conceit mainly. The Great Man's sincerity is of the kind he cannot speak of, is not conscious of: nay, I suppose, he is conscious rather of insincerity; for what man can walk accurately by the law of truth for one day? [1]

The only way to succeed in giving the impression of sincerity is to be sincere. Under no circumstances should a speaker allow the public to have a false impression of what he thinks. If he opposes military training in the American universities, then he should never allow an audience to assume that he is for such tactics and training. As Demosthenes declared, no one has a license to misrepresent his real convictions.

What of the common debating practice of having a speaker arbitrarily assigned to a side of a question, often to a side in which he does not believe? The answer is, of course, that no

[1] Thomas Carlyle, "The Hero as Prophet," in *Heroes and Hero-Worship.*

student should be asked to defend a proposition to which he is conscientiously opposed. Nevertheless, as suggested in an earlier chapter, the problem is more theoretical than real, for on most questions proposed, students have few matured convictions. A good argument may be evolved on either side. Truth is on both sides, and the student may conceivably argue conscientiously on either affirmative or negative. In fact, one way to cultivate convictions of a stable sort is to acquaint the student fully with the subject. No better way to gain this familiarity is known than to debate both sides. Hence the occasional justification of having the same debaters for and against various propositions. It must be admitted that this practice of having a speaker ready at a moment's notice to debate on either side of a given subject, common in high-school and college debate tournaments, needs to be most carefully used. In general, for a public debate the student should represent only those views which he honestly thinks he holds.

3. *Earnestness.* Sincerity means earnestness, seriousness of purpose, determination, alertness, a moral stamina that commands from the audience if not agreement at least profound respect for the ideas of the disputant. Earnestness grows out of the speaker's faith and begets faith. Smartness of style, flippancy, cynicism, may for the moment hold the attention; but the hollowness of the speaker's purpose shows through, and the audience loses contact with the argument because of the loss of confidence in the spokesman for the argument.

4. *Humor.* Debaters are often solemn without being in earnest. Either solemnity or earnestness, and the two are often the same, is not inconsistent with humor. Genial humor, whether quiet or broad, is almost necessary for the effective persuasion of the average audience. The lighter mood breaks down hostility, puts the speaker on common ground with his audience, creates a common emotion, — and so a psychological crowd, — and thus becomes a great ally to sound argument. School and college debating especially needs the element of humor, for the discussions are usually upon heavy subjects. The content of most debates is

a compact assembling of statistics that for many people mean downright dullness. He who can lighten the serious and thoughtful passages with spontaneous wit has a great advantage.

How can a debater who has *no humor* acquire that quality? The answer is that every student, as well as practically every other human being, does possess a sense of the comic. The spirit needs only release. What are the elements of the comic?

Humor consists in stating the incongruous. Every debater will be on the alert to detect these incongruities. He will make swift descents from the solemn to the trivial, from the serious and straightforward to the satirical and ironic, from premise, apparently accepted, to conclusion which turns out to be an example of *reductio ad absurdum*. He will refer humorously to himself, to the audience, or to his opponents. If the humor is normal and healthy, if the speaker has underlying seriousness and sincerity, if he has a reasonable degree of tact, he can be humorous without wrecking his cause; rather he will strengthen it immeasurably.

Humor in debate need not consist of a series of jokes. Anecdotes may be introduced, but they should be brief and appropriate. Neither should humor be a substitute for sound argument. Quaint asides, unexpected turns of language and ideas, sharp reply to thrusts, are the stuff of the debater's wit.

5. *Self-confidence*. The audience will have far more respect for that speaker who has the courage of his convictions — who is sure of his facts and his position. No audience will develop enthusiasm for the debater whose voice has the note of uncertainty or query, or who seems to be apologizing for his ideas. For a debater to rise in the face of a strong attack and to proceed calmly, sure of his position, self-poised, self-controlled, will engender that same spirit in the attitude of the listeners. It is a quality which excludes loss of temper, nervous excitement, cloudy thinking. To have this confidence the speaker must of course be well prepared. Only a mastery of every fact and only previous experience in talking over these points will give that ring of confidence and that platform poise essential to the good impression.

6. *Freedom from Pugnacity.* Since a debate is an intellectual combat, the participants sometimes become heated and feel that they must literally exemplify the tactics of the prize fight or the medieval tournament. A degree of unpleasant aggressiveness sounds in every line and furnishes the basis of every argument. The attacks are touched by such expressions as "Our opponents would have you believe," "The gentlemen have failed utterly to establish their contentions." The whole attitude reflects a determination to destroy the opponent utterly. And many a member of the audience may feel that such aggressiveness amounts to egotistic arrogance. Judges and audiences have often voted down a good debater solely because he set out to whip all who stood in his way.

7. *Modesty.* Far more effective is the quality of modesty. School and college debaters sometimes develop egotism. Something about the type of discussion, the firmness with which convictions must be held, develops that quality. And the rewards of the game sometimes produce that result, just as occasionally athletes acquire conceit. School debaters, in particular on winning teams, become heroes to parents and community — a dangerous situation indeed. The most effective speakers, nevertheless, have a natural modesty. No superciliousness, strut, or pompousness may be detected. Proper cultivation of modesty is a matter not of dissembling, or of cultivating a sense of inferiority, but rather a matter of understanding one's limitations in life and of giving all things their proper value. The boastful and vain speaker needs direct criticism, and sometimes severe joltings, before he has this almost fatal handicap removed. Do not parade your knowledge. Don't insinuate that you have made a clever point. Avoid apologies that will suggest that you are insincere.

8. *Courtesy.* He who is modest will have also good breeding. The spirit of courtesy is highly necessary, especially if the occasion be a genuine contest. Audiences will turn in disgust from the speaker who shows bad temper toward his opponents, who engages in ill-timed invective or insolence. Courtesy is necessary, not only toward the opponents but toward an audience.

VIII. Imagery in Argument

Argument, psychologically, is a concept imaged so as to command attention and secure response from the audience.

***A.* Concepts.** A concept is the "mental process that represents general or abstract ideas rather than particulars." [1] The problem of the debater is that of the proper imaging of concepts, the translation of the abstract into the concrete so as to call up similar vivid experiences in the mind of the reactor and so to touch off those responses desired. We have all dozed under the influence of a speaker who talked only in abstractions, and we have followed, in spite of our weariness, that speaker who continually translated his abstract knowledge into terms that led us to see and experience the ideas so vivid in his own thinking. The debater, then, must translate his brief and his cold logic into forms that will awaken and move his audience.

***B.* Sensations.** The basis of a concept is sensation, in which a sense organ is stimulated and the nervous impulses are conducted to the sensory center of the brain. Sensations are classified, according to the kind of sense organs affected, as those of sight, sound, taste, odor, heat, cold, pain, movement, as well as those of "organic sensation" and of the internal organs, including hunger, thirst, and nausea.[2] Pure sensations are of course continually combining, blending in the consciousness, as in music, or forming "patterns," as in painting.[3]

***C.* Images.** The immediate experience of sensation in the cortical areas we call *primary image.* After the disappearance of this primary image, consciousness may later recognize what is called the *mental image*, or the *memory image.* This recall of sensations results from a substitute stimulus. This fact it is which is significant to any speaker, in this case the debater. The normal

[1] Walter Bowers Pillsbury, *Fundamentals of Psychology*, pp. 414 ff. The Macmillan Company, 1922.

[2] R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, pp. 204 ff. Henry Holt and Company, 1921.

[3] Stevenson Smith and E. R. Guthrie, *General Psychology in Terms of Behavior*, p. 247. D. Appleton and Company, 1921.

individual may, when affected by substitute stimuli (combinations of words, for example), call up innumerable images based on experience.

People vary greatly in their ability to experience memory images. Some recall much more vividly than others these images. Individuals vary, too, in the kind of sensations that are vividly recalled. Some have a memory for colors, others for sound. Images are usually not so colorful, nor so clearly detailed, as the original sensations. In general, the vividness of memory images depends upon the recency, frequency, and duration of the original experience or upon the extent of the emotional reënforcement.

Mental imagery that seems to be in all particulars the exact copy of the original may be distinguished from the sensation by reason of the fact that the image does not "fit into the objective situation present to the senses," as when we, half dreaming, imagine we view familar scenes and faces, only to realize that the picture does not fit the objective situation before us.[1]

***D.* Types.** When the faculty of reproducing copies of sensations once experienced is limited to literal copies, the imagination is commonly called *reproductive*. When the imagery is fused together so as to make new units, or images "not before in our minds in their present order and form," the imagination is described as *productive*. The ability to recombine images explains the creative, or imaginative, power of great poets, dramatists, and orators.

Your problem as a debater is to translate your colorless concepts, *arguments*, into a series of imaginative statements. Your mind, for example, will so work that your argument that "we must repeal the Eighteenth Amendment because it causes lawbreaking" will recall vividly a series of concrete images portraying the law-breaking situation. That imagery must, in turn, be so conveyed to the listener or reader that he will also react in a similar way. If you were discussing the question of abandoning

[1] C. E. Seashore, *An Introduction to Psychology*, pp. 254 ff. The Macmillan Company, 1924.

extraterritorial rights of foreigners in China, the prospects of annexing the Dominican Republic, the completion of the St. Lawrence waterway project, the reduction of the tariff, the merging of certain railway lines, the introduction of a new department into a university, the support of a certain candidate, you would wish in each case to mass your facts and ideas so that those who listened would imaginatively realize and appropriate your chain of reasoning.

***E.* Imaginative Appeal.** Every debater may effectively use imaginative coloring. It consists of the use of descriptive or narrative elements, concrete instances, analogies, comparisons, and figurative language.

IX. Suggestion in Argument

Suggestion is the automatic response to a substitute stimulus or the acceptance of a proposition without deliberation. The approval is direct and immediate, apparently without motivation. When without reflection you yield to the command "Support Gallagher for mayor," you are governed entirely by suggestion. When you submit to the injunction "Support Gallagher" only after you have concluded, "With Gallagher as mayor, taxes will be reduced, or a municipal market will be established, or law will be better enforced," you are acting from reason or from expressed motives rather than from suggestion. Suggestion furnishes the case of an apparently incidental stimulus touching off "responses quite disproportionate to its inherent strength." [1] Argument, to be effective, will furnish, in addition to logical grounds for proof, statements which reënforce the ideas so that where sheer logic or obvious exhortation may fail, direct or indirect suggestion may succeed.

[1] J. M. O'Neill and A. T. Weaver, *The Elements of Speech*, p. 335, Longmans, Green & Co., 1926. See also E. B. Titchener, *A Textbook of Psychology*, p. 449, The Macmillan Company, 1910; W. D. Scott, *Psychology of Advertising*, p. 80, Small, Maynard & Co., 1921; William McDougall, *Social Psychology*, p. 97, John Luce Company, 1921,

***A.* Laws of Suggestion.** The laws of suggestion are those of sensation and imagery. These laws state that a stimulus will have a complete response unless interfered with by some counter stimulus. W. D. Scott has formulated the laws thus:

1. Every idea of an action will result in that action unless hindered by an impeding idea or physical impediment.
2. Every idea, concept, or conclusion which enters the mind is held as true unless hindered by some contradictory idea.[1]

***B.* Methods of Suggestion.** In general, when inhibitions are avoided or removed, the use of suggestion is possible. Do not hurt your argument by fatal admissions or by the avoidance of ideas favorable to your cause. Equally important is it to remove inhibitions obviously in the minds of the hearers.

Positively, the touching off of any responses in conformity with the interests of the audience will contribute to the right action. Appeals to experience, to the fact that the thing suggested has already been accepted, or that authority approves it, will also impress the listener. Repetition is one of the most obvious means of suggestion. Imagery is another. Still another is that of the speaker's appealing personality and strong mentality. Uprightness, calmness, aggressiveness, earnestness, modesty, tact, dignity, humor, broadmindedness, and similar qualities impress and lend great weight to the argument. The use of the impulse to imitate is still another means. Arousing vivid mental pictures of the audience engaged in the action desired will tend to lead them to assume the position suggested.

At times contrasuggestion is effective, by which is meant the reaction to suggestion in what is supposed to be the opposite way to that intended. "Don't support the team," or "Stay away from the game," or "Don't interest yourself in this problem" will sometimes have just the opposite effect. Contrasuggestion is often applied to those people who desire distinction or who are

[1] W. D. Scott, *Influencing Men in Business*, p. 37. The Ronald Press Company, 1911.

determined to resist the pressure of public opinion. Speech symbols, of course, have a profound suggestive force either in establishing a tendency to respond to an idea or in touching off the final response.

As a student of debate you will follow the beaten path of genuine argument. You will, however, note the power and character of suggestion and within limits will apply the principles referred to in the paragraphs above.

C. The Psychological Crowd. The effect of suggestion may be greatly increased if the hearer can feel the weight of "social pressure," or organized public opinion. Especially powerful is the suggestion exerted by the psychological crowd, a group actuated by a common purpose or a common point of view or a common emotion, an audience responding in a uniform way to a common stimulus.

1. *Characteristics.* The psychological crowd, in contrast to the heterogeneous crowd, has a "crowd mind." This crowd mind "includes the general qualities of personality which are our common racial inheritance." It has, probably, more courage, more fear, more humor, more sense of tragedy, more awe, more disposition to abandon politeness or sense of personal responsibility, although concerning some of these alleged characteristics opinions vary. In general, the crowd substitutes a common emotion for individual disposition to deliberation. If the group as a unit is cheering madly for a certain candidate, it is natural for one individual who has been opposed to this candidate to yield to the pull of those about him.

2. *Methods of Creating a Psychological Crowd.* The first business of the debater is to convince through argument. The creation of the psychological crowd and the influencing of that crowd are justifiable only when the end sought and the means used are ethically sound. If united action is the goal, if deliberation has been properly directed, then the appeal to the crowd mind is clearly worth while. How shall the debater proceed to exert mass suggestion? Numbers count; the larger crowd is evidently more

readily molded into an emotional unit than is the small one. Compactness is highly desirable. If possible, elbows literally and figuratively should touch. The use of humor and other stimuli will help to unify the individuals; so will uniformity in dress, the use of music, applause, or other demonstrations that tend to remove aloofness and hostility and to solidify the group. Not always is the crowd noisy. The speaker's personality or the content of his speech, especially if the speech employs the principle of suspense, may lead the audience to become hushed and expectant. That moment, experienced at times by every effective speaker, marks an instant, at least, when the crowd fusion is complete. Such moments every debater will attempt to realize, in the effort to convince and persuade the group to adopt what is presumably a wise course.[1]

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain what is meant by *persuasion, belief, conviction.*

2. Define *attention, emotion.*

3. Discuss the chief motives which influence audiences.

4. Give a five-minute speech on one of the following topics: (1) tact, (2) sincerity, (3) earnestness, (4) humor, (5) self-confidence, (6) the spirit of pugnacity, (7) modesty, (8) courtesy.

5. Discuss imagination in argument.

6. Explain suggestion in argument.

7. Bring to class one example, taken from a printed debate or speech, of an appeal to each of the following: (1) profit, (2) necessity, (3) duty, (4) justice, (5) loyalty, (6) indignation.

8. Bring to class one example of each of the following types of imagery: (1) sound, (2) sight, (3) taste, (4) odor, (5) heat, (6) movement.

[1] J. A. Winans, *Public Speaking* (Revised Edition), pp. 230–244. The Century Co., 1917. C. H. Woolbert, *Fundamentals of Speech* (Revised Edition), pp. 41–55. Harper & Brothers, 1927.

9. Analyze from the point of view of imagination Henry Ward Beecher's "Liverpool Address" (1863), H. W. Grady's "The New South" (1886), Wendell Phillips's "Eulogy of Garrison." These speeches are found in S. B. Harding's *Select Orations illustrating American Political History* (The Macmillan Company, 1924).

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CHAPTER XIV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPEECH

I. THREE METHODS OF COMPOSITION. II. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE. III. THE USE OF THE BRIEF. IV. WRITING AND REWRITING. V. SUGGESTIONS FOR COMPOSITION OF THE DEBATE AS A WHOLE. VI. CONSTRUCTION OF THE INTRODUCTION. VII. COMPOSITION OF THE DISCUSSION PROPER. VIII. COMPOSITION OF THE CONCLUSION. IX. SENTENCE STRUCTURE. X. LANGUAGE

I. Three Methods of Composition

You may compose your speech according to one of three methods: oral composition before delivery, oral composition at the time of final presentation, or written composition.

***A.* Oral Composition before Delivery.** According to the first method you will draft a few notes from your brief. With these before you, you will rehearse the debate until the ideas or even the exact words take definite form in your mind. This process is in effect the composition of a number of speeches, for it is evident that each rehearsal will yield a speech more or less different from those that precede. Whether composition of this type is effective will depend partly upon the definiteness with which the outline, or brief, has been worked out, partly upon the thoroughness with which the oral rehearsals are conducted, and partly upon the composer's previous training in oral and written English.

***B.* Oral Composition at the Time of Final Presentation.** Oral composition that is done only as part of the final presentation has the same advantages as oral composition prior to delivery: it develops a colloquial style usually associated with the most satisfactory form of popular address. The oral method, however, too often develops a speech which is discursive, thin in thought,

superficial, mechanical, and repetitious in expression. He who waits until the moment of delivery itself is usually guilty of all the compositional faults identified with impromptu speaking. Only he who by training and temperament has wide command of the English language and ability to think with clear penetration should resort to this method. Woodrow Wilson in his later political campaigns, especially in his Western trip supporting the League of Nations in 1919, was able to compose in this way with skill. His speeches, many of them extemporaneous, have the finish of carefully prepared manuscripts.

C. **Written Composition.** Shall you, then, write your speeches before delivery? Usually you should do so. Only thus will you develop the relevancy, the force, and especially the compactness which seem essential in debate. Only thus will you be able to clarify, simplify, and express those finer shades of meaning which characterize the superior debate. "But," it may be objected, "to speak of a written debate is to misuse terms, for a genuine debate is filled with rebuttal and other impromptu elements that can never be fully prepared beforehand." Such criticism is sound. Written debates are dangerous; for the composer, even in the heat of the contest, may rely too much upon his manuscript or his memory. The result will be stiffness, a literary rather than an oral style, a general failure to adapt the argument to the audience and to the contentions advanced by opposing speakers. Nevertheless if you are to master the art of debating, you must write and rewrite arguments. Let us hasten to add that practice in actual debating must receive an equal amount of attention. The writing must be freely supplemented by oral practice. The result will be an oral style, as distinct from a written or literary style.

II. Differences between Oral and Written Discourse

How, then, do oral and written discourse differ? Oral discourse is like conversation — direct, simple, lively. Pedantry and sentimentality are absent. Sentences are short and direct. The chief

ideas stand out clearly and boldly, perhaps somewhat mechanically. The general movement is more irregular than in written style, more abrupt, because the speaker substitutes significant gesture for many a word. Imperative and exclamatory sentences are more numerous, because the emotional coloring is more pronounced. Illustrations, examples, swift figures of speech, the use of iteration, and other devices to impress are more necessary than in written discourse.

Compare the following examples of style.[1] The first speech was written carefully beforehand and delivered as written; the second speech was composed chiefly on the spur of the occasion. In the latter example, good of its kind, you will notice the characteristic elements of the oral style.

THE FRAME OF MIND

ROSCOE POUND

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: It has been said many times today, and will be said many times in the next few days, that we are here by the token of a common blood, a common speech, common political institutions, and a common law. Yet, since Americans parted politically with the Mother Country one hundred and fifty years ago, on our side of the water that common blood has been much diluted, and that common speech, one might say, has been unconventionalized, at least in America. Those common political institutions had already begun to diverge before the Revolution. The events of 1688 made the Legislature supreme in England, but our colonial polity led us in our constitutions to preserve the institutions of Tudor and Stuart England, with a co-equal legislative, executive and judicial, governing together if they could, governing in spite of each other if they must. So that the enduring point has been the common law, and no phenomenon, I suppose, in our national life has been so marked as the persistence and vitality of that common law. Only historians know that the custom of Paris was once law in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan. Only

[1] H. D. Lindgren, *Modern Speeches*, pp. 114–116, 490–491. F. S. Crofts & Co., 1926. Used with the permission of the authors.

historians realize that over the great dominion of the Louisiana purchase the Roman Law once obtained, at least in theory. In the domain which we obtained from Mexico only a few disappearing curiosities in the law of property remain to show that that was once the domain of another system. Yet, if a stranger were to ask us exactly in what this unity of law consists I suspect that we should be hard put to it to convince him. The books on which that law was based — Coke's *Institutes* and Blackstone's *Commentaries* — have ceased to be studied, I suspect, on either side of the water. Scarcely a vestige of the old, formal, over-refined procedure and the feudal land law as found in Blackstone obtain on the other side of the water. The part of Coke's *Institutes* which is still living with us in our decisions upon our bills of rights ceased to be of importance in England, at least so far as legislation was concerned, with the sovereignty of Parliament after 1688. It is true there are a few American jurisdictions where we still crave *oyer*, where replications *de injuria* are filed, and where new assignments flourish; but nearly everywhere that sort of learning is as dead as it has been in England since 1873. To show you how far we have diverged in the matter of property, it is enough to say that in England today lands devolve upon the personal representative, and in at least one American jurisdiction personal property devolves upon the heir. A great mass of new subjects have arisen for which one would look in vain in the pages of Blackstone or of Coke, and in those subjects frequently the diversity is as notable as the similarity. Yet, out of all that diversity and all that similarity, there are three points that stand out. In England and in America the law is ascertained, and the law is developed judicially and professionally, whereas in the rest of the world it is ascertained by legislation and developed academically. In England and the United States we have a traditional art of deciding cases on the basis of the recorded judicial experience of the past, whereas in the rest of the world cases are decided by a technique of applying written texts. But, most of all, in England and in the United States we look at questions judicially, whereas in the rest of the world they are looked at, if I may say so, administratively; and behind those three points I venture to think is a common frame of mind, a frame of mind which we have inherited from the Middle Ages, which thinks of law as something not made, but found, and thinks of the quest for law as a quest for the justice and truth of the Creator. That is the frame of mind which led the judges in the Middle Ages to tell

Edward III that, though he could pardon an offender under his Great Seal as King of England, he could not write a private letter as Edward Plantagenet to the sheriff and interfere with the due course of justice. It is that frame of mind which led the judges of Henry VII, when Parliament enacted a statute that derogated from what were then regarded as the fundamentals of the social order, to say that it was "impertinent to be observed." It was that frame of mind that led the judges to say to James I that he could not sit upon the Bench and decide in person cases affecting the fortune or inheritance of his subjects. It is that frame of mind that has led courts in the United States within a generation to remind sovereign legislatures and sovereign peoples that they, too, rule under God and the law. In that frame of mind we have something which is enduring while law books become obsolete and statutes are repealed — something permanent and unrepealable. I say to you that in that frame of mind we have a ground of unity beside which treaties, covenants, and alliances will prove but fleeting.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NEW YORK LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

ALFRED E. SMITH

MADAM CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS: I have repeatedly said that the State of New York to a certain extent is the victim of its own growth, and I think I can demonstrate to the satisfaction of any person who is willing to be convinced about it, unless for his own peculiar reason he has his mind made up to the contrary, that the State with its ten million people today is trying to lumber along in the best possible fashion it can with a form of government and a structure of government restrained by a constitutional provision that was framed when it was like a small child.

As I told an audience in Yonkers, it was like a full-grown man trying to put on his first communion suit. It can't be done.

Now what do we mean by the reorganization of the state government? We mean that the structure of the government itself must be reorganized; that it must be simplified; that it must be brought up to date; that it must be made responsive to up-to-date conditions. If anybody subscribes to that theory, let him find fault, if they want to find fault, with the manner and method in which we try to do it.

This is not a new theory or a new idea. Long before the women voted, they heard of this under what was known as the "short ballot." The short ballot never admitted of any real argument unless somebody can give us a good reason why the people of the State of New York should elect an engineer. Still they go through the solemn process every two years of electing a State Engineer and they pay him about half the salary that is paid to the other engineers that the Governor is obliged to appoint.

Why should the State elect a State Treasurer? He never has a dollar. He goes through the empty formality of writing his name on a check to indicate that the check went through his office; performs minor clerical services for the State, and that is all. Still we solemnly enter the booth every two years and with all the other pressing thoughts of government on our minds, we have to make a selection as to who ought to perform this clerical service, to be known as our State Treasurer.

Why should we elect the Secretary of State? He countersigns papers that come from the governor's office and he issues certificates of incorporation of companies that desire to incorporate under the laws of the State of New York — a purely clerical position. Still we have been going through the performance here for years and years of erecting around us every two years this group of elected State officers. And remember when I speak here tonight I have no reference to any particular secretary or any particular treasurer, or any particular comptroller; I am talking about the history of the State back over a period of twenty years. There never was one of them who came to Albany that didn't think he ought to be the Governor. It was just an accident that in the convention he was named a little bit later than the Governor.

III. The Use of the Brief

Since the brief is a formal statement, made up of a complete list of arguments and a complete array of evidence, the resulting composition will in many particulars differ from the outline. Ideas will be changed about or omitted, arguments and evidence will be selected from the storehouse (brief), and persuasive elements freely added.

IV. Writing and Rewriting

Writing debates is like writing stories or other creative compositions. The first draft may be only the starting point in composition. Skillful college debaters have developed in platform skill largely because they have previously struggled over many a manuscript. Debaters under my observation have rewritten a speech as many as eight or nine times. Only by accepting the work of composition as a serious step in preparation, to be done thoroughly and painstakingly, can you hope to produce a debate worthy of yourself and your audience.

V. Suggestions for Composition of the Debate as a Whole

As the brief or outline is relevant, so should the speech itself be. Avoid those digressions and the introduction of trivial ideas that divert attention from the main points.

***A.* Unity.** Preserve also a unity of tone. Debaters often attempt a curious blending of the dignified style with undue informality, frequently in the form of humor. Avoid the discordant notes and the unexpected change of level which the audience pronounces "artificial."

***B.* Order.** Arrange the ideas in the order that will be the clearest to the audience. This order may be chronological, or from the simple to the complex, from cause to effect, from the less important to the more important, from the abstract to the concrete. Unite the paragraphs and the larger divisions of the speech by means of connective words, phrases, sentences. Link together the larger divisions by announcing each division and by the frequent use of summaries. Apply also the principle of variety. Mix the inductive method with the deductive.

***C.* Force.** Consider also the principle of force. Each idea should have that amount of space and that position which its importance indicates. Secondary ideas may be dismissed in a

few words; more significant arguments need more space and should be placed first or last. The final position, of course, is reserved for the most impressive idea.

***D.* Interest.** Observe likewise the principle of interest. Use freely illustration, humor, narrative style, direct dialogue, and the other devices that hold attention (interest). In general, the writer-debater should visualize clearly an audience — not a hard thing for the average college speaker who appears only before a college audience — and construct the speech so as to impress that audience.

VI. Construction of the Introduction

The work of writing will be more systematically managed if you regard the composition as divided after the Aristotelian plan of Introduction, Discussion Proper, and Conclusion, and if you regard each of these sections as a complete composition in itself. The purpose of the Introduction is to attract favorable attention and interest, and to give the necessary preliminary information. Cicero said that the purpose of an introduction is *reddere auditores benevolos*, *attentos*, *dociles*, "to render the hearers well disposed toward the speaker, attentive, and open-minded." Negatively the aim is to avoid arousing inhibitions, as is often done when the note of denunciation or belligerency is sounded at the outset. Positively the material should be so selected and expressed as to place speaker and audience upon common ground and keep them there. The principle of persuasion should govern the method of composition. The Introduction should serve as a true approach to the Argument Proper.

Several types of introduction may be used to challenge attention and to serve as a proper approach.

***A.* Personal Introduction.** Begin with a personal introduction in which you appeal for sympathy or confidence, for fair play, sense of duty, or responsibility, or in which you compliment your audience. Because reference to yourself may seem unduly laudatory or insincere, or because your reference to your audience may

likewise seem too calculated, you must use with extreme caution this form of approach. Consider the direct simplicity of the opening of Herbert Hoover's speech on "After-War Questions," an approach likely to be acceptable because of the speaker's wartime record:

CAPTAIN FREDERICKS, MY FRIENDS: I am unable to make adequate reply to the warm, affectionate statements of your chairman, or adequate appreciation of the heartiness or warmth of your reception. I have never been able to give an expression from the heart that I feel should come to you in return for so great a tribute. It has indeed been my duty, my part of service as an American citizen, to represent the American people in great services to children, and in all those services I have but represented the great heart of America.

I had thought today to talk to you on the general economic situation in which we find ourselves; upon some of the problems that we must meet as a government and as men; upon some of the remedies that we must find; and upon some of the problems for which we have no remedy and yet a remedy must be found.[1]

Note the vigor of the following introduction to O. H. Kahn's speech on "The New York Stock Exchange and Public Opinion," the personal defense, and the element of suspense created by the suggestion of "a few of these phantom questions and answers":

A few weeks ago I went to Washington to contradict, as a voluntary witness before a committee of Congress, under the solemn obligation of my oath, a gross and wanton calumny which, based upon nothing but anonymous and irresponsible gossip, has been uttered regarding my name.

On my way between New York and Washington, thinking that once on the stand I might possibly be asked a number of questions more or less within the general scope of the Committee's inquiry, I indulged in a little mental exercise by putting myself through an imaginary examination.

With your permission, I will state a few of these phantom questions and answers: . . .[2]

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. IV, p. 212. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923. [2] Ibid. p. 230.

More personal, with its narrative and touch of humor, is the following most impressive approach to Lady Astor's "Women in Politics," given in the Town Hall, New York, April 9, 1922:

I know that this welcome has nothing to do with me. Ever since I entered the "Mother of Parliaments" I realized that I ceased to be a person and became a symbol. The safe thing about being a symbol is this — you realize that you of yourself can do nothing; what you symbolize gives you courage and strength and should give you wisdom. I certainly have been given courage and strength, and I won't say too much about wisdom.

My entrance into the House of Commons was not, as some thought, in the nature of a revolution. It was an evolution. It is rather interesting how it came about. My husband was the one who started me off on this downward path — from the fireside to the public life. If I have helped the cause of women, he is the one to thank, not me. He is a strange and remarkable man.[1]

***B.* Striking Question.** Begin with a striking question. William J. Bryan begins his address on "The Value of an Ideal" by raising questions: "What is the value of an ideal? Have you ever attempted to estimate its worth? Have you ever tried to measure its value in dollars and cents?" [2]

***C.* Narrative or Dramatic Method.** Use the narrative or dramatic method. It gives vividness and emotional power to the speech. A student argument on flood control through conservation and similar measures began in this way:

One evening last week a thousand residents of Melville, Louisiana, went serenely to bed. At daybreak the next morning the levee along the Atchafalaya gave way. Soon every street in Melville was a roaring torrent.

***D.* Figures of Speech.** Another opening that appeals to the imagination is that which introduces a figure of speech. Notice

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. VII, p. 36. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

[2] *Selected Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*, Vol. II, p. 239. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1911.

the vividness of the following introduction in which publicity is described positively and negatively by aid of striking metaphors:

Publicity must not be thought of, as it is by a good many, as a sort of umbrella to protect you against the rain of an unpleasant public opinion. Publicity must not be regarded as a bandage to cover up a sore and enable you to get along pretty well with the real trouble still there. Publicity must, if your trouble is to be cured, be considered rather an antiseptic which shall cleanse the very source of the trouble, and reveal it to the doctor, which is the public. To change the metaphor again, publicity must not be thought of as a cloak to look well on the outside of a body deformed and diseased within. It must be looked on as rather a social X-ray which shall reveal the bone and the tissue, even the very heart of the body itself. No one must attempt to adopt publicity or make use of it for his benefit unless he is prepared to take all the consequences.[1]

***E.* Significant Quotation.** Begin with a significant quotation. Will H. Hays began a speech on teamwork as follows:

In his inaugural address on March 4th, President Harding said: "Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to proclaim the Era of the Golden Rule and crown it with the autocracy of service."[2]

J. G. Jones began a speech on "Vision and Purpose" thus:

More than two thousand years ago King Solomon (considered one of the wisest men of the ages) enunciated a principle which history through all the passing centuries has firmly established, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."[3]

N. D. Hillis, defending the pulpit in modern life, began as follows:

Having lingered long in foreign climes and countries, Plutarch returned home to affirm that he found cities without walls, without furniture, without coin or kings; peoples who knew not the forum, the theatre, or gymnasium; "but," added the traveler, "there never was, nor shall there ever be, a city without temple, church, or chapel."[4]

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. IV, p. 288. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923. [2] Ibid. p. 187. [3] Ibid. p. 224.
[4] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. VI, p. 249. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

***F.* Reference to the Occasion.** Refer to the importance of the occasion or to the significance of the surroundings. A plea for a closer alliance between England and America was introduced by reference to the day:

> We are met here today in the City of Westminster, to celebrate the 142d anniversary of American Independence. We are also met as brothers-in-arms, passing together through a period of exceptional anxiety and suffering; therefore, we seek to draw from the past history of our race inspiration and encouragement which will cheer our hearts and fortify and purify our resolution and our comradeship.[1]

Oscar S. Straus began a discussion of the Jews in the United States as follows:

> "Few greater calamities," says Lecky, "can befall a nation than to cut herself off, as France did in her great revolution, from all vital connection with her past." Here in this historical hall [Faneuil Hall, Boston] dedicated by that great commoner, James Otis, as "the Cradle of Liberty," were held town meetings throbbing with the nascent principles of democracy. Herein also, where a decade later Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren first organized resistance to arbitrary government, it is most fitting and proper to celebrate an historical event, insignificant in itself, yet whose threads, dyed in the blood of martyrs for soul liberty, find a fitting place in the composite fabric of our continent's history and in the development of our civil and religious liberties.[2]

***G.* Statement of Theme.** The approach may also be made by a statement of the theme (or proposition) or by the successive steps of analysis for finding issues: (1) statement of immediate interest, (2) history, (3) definitions, (4) clash of opinion, or stating the issues.

Charles W. Eliot, in discussing the "Uses of Education for Business," began by an elaborate definition: "Before we can talk together to advantage about the value of education in business, we ought to come to a common understanding about the sort of

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. VII, p. 105. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923. [2] Ibid. p. 374.

education we mean and the sort of business." [1] Then succeeds an explanation of terms.

David Starr Jordan introduced his address on the higher education of women by stating the issues:

The subject of the higher training of young women may resolve itself into three questions:

1. Shall a girl receive a college education?
2. Shall she receive the same kind of college education as a boy?
3. Shall she be educated in the same college? [2]

Theodore Roosevelt opened his political address in Carnegie Hall, New York, in 1912, by stating the issues:

The great fundamental issue now before the Republican party and before our people can be stated briefly. It is: Are the American people fit to govern themselves, to rule themselves, to control themselves? I believe they are. My opponents do not. I believe in the right of the people to rule. I believe the majority of the plain people of the United States will, day in and day out, make fewer mistakes in governing themselves than any small class or body of men, no matter what their training, will make in trying to govern them. I believe, again, that the American people are, on the whole, capable of self-control and learning by their mistakes. Our opponents pay loyalty to this doctrine; but they show their real beliefs by the way in which they champion every device to make the nominal rule of the people a sham.[3]

***H.* Steps of Analysis.** If you are composing the Introduction of a formal forensic (by which is meant a complete debate) or the opening speech of a debate, you will include most of the steps discussed under analysis. Each of these steps, it goes without saying, should be not an end but a means. The history, for example, need not refer to every root of an institution in the period before the Christian Era. This step means the selection of those

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. IV, p. 94. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

[2] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. VI, p. 295. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

[3] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. X, p. 408. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

items that relate most strikingly to the immediate discussion. Again, the definition of terms should be more than a dry and severely technical description. Rather it should be brief, popular, interesting, and if possible a general explanation, personal rather than academic. The conflict of opinion, like the history and definitions, should be free from the technical, mechanical, or lifeless style usually present when the brief is closely followed. A general comparison of the rival points of view rather than a catalogue of arguments on each side will be sufficient. The issues, however, should be clearly, even mechanically, stated. The composer must not run the risk of having the audience fail to understand these pivotal questions.

I. **Transitional Introduction.** For speakers who follow the first affirmative a transitional Introduction is often desirable. Such approach (1) makes an assumption based upon previous remarks, (2) refers to a preceding speaker, (3) states an argument to be refuted, or (4) summarizes what has preceded. Representative C. F. Crisp began the closing speech in the House of Representatives in support of the Wilson tariff by making assumptions:

> I assume that the cause of protection has no more able advocate than the gentleman from Maine. I assume that the argument for protection can be put in no more alluring form than that to which we have listened today. So assuming, I shall ask you calmly and dispassionately to examine with me that argument, to see upon what it is based, and then I shall invoke the unprejudiced judgment of this House as to whether the cause attempted to be sustained by the gentleman from Maine has been sustained or can be before any tribunal where the voice of reason is heard or the sense of justice is felt.[1]

An Oxford speaker in an American college debate hurried at once into his discussion with the following sentence: "I will try to show how much I appreciate the honor that has been accorded to me and my associates from Oxford by going straight on with the debate where it has been left by the last speaker."

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. X, p. 318. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

VII. Composition of the Discussion Proper

Each issue will be developed as a separate and complete argument, often with its own approach or topic ideas, its discussion, and its summary or enforcement. Here the principle of clearness needs application. Likewise the principles of identifying beliefs and of keeping on common ground with the audience must be applied at every step in the writing. Remember that in writing as in actual delivery fixed beliefs can scarcely be changed — at least in a single speech! Therefore you will, as far as possible, identify with the fixed opinions of the audience the proposition which you wish them to accept. This point of view will lead your style to take on a persuasive oral quality characteristic of your platform style. Arguments will be advanced inductively or deductively as the occasion suggests. Now you will proceed boldly, now cautiously, now admitting, now expounding, always trying to keep on common ground and yet always advancing to your goal of securing the complete response.

In the development of the argument specific methods should be kept in mind.

1. *Explanatory Materials.* Although analysis belongs primarily to the Introduction, it is obvious that such materials also find a place throughout the Discussion Proper. These elements which explain and supplement the purely logical statements are composed of (1) definitions; (2) general explanations; (3) repetition for clearness and force; (4) summaries; (5) topic propositions.

2. *Argumentative Materials.* The specific types of argument (whether you are engaged in constructive discussion or in refutation) will be used, including (1) argument by specific instance; (2) by analogy; (3) by causal relation; and (4) by authority.

3. *Persuasive Materials.* The well-developed argument invariably includes a considerable amount of motivating material, designed to embellish, reënforce, apply, and interpret these expository and argumentative or "explicit" materials in such way as further to establish belief and lead to action. This material

will be composed of (1) rhetorical questions; (2) figures of speech; (3) imperative and exclamatory sentences; (4) parallelism; (5) analogies; (6) euphony; (7) rhetorical rhythm.

VIII. Composition of the Conclusion

Since the Conclusion marks the true climax of the speech, establishing fully the grounds for accepting the argument, giving the audience once and for all the final impression of the speech and speaker, it is highly important that this section be intelligently planned. Sufficient but not too much space (or time) should be allowed for an adequate conclusion. Many school and college debaters time their speeches poorly and leave the platform with the final part of the speech unsaid. Other public speakers conclude and reconclude. In writing your speech you have the simple problem of calculating the probable number of words at your disposal and apportioning the number given to each general division. A speech of ten minutes would represent some twelve hundred words. Not more than two hundred would be reserved for the Conclusion and hardly that number for the Introduction, unless the debate should be that of a first affirmative, in which instance three or four hundred words would perhaps be reserved for the analysis of the question. In oral composition before the public occasion you will watch and check the distribution of your time and words. Whether the Conclusion be written or oral, it should be painstakingly prepared so that it forms a true climax to all that precedes.

***A*. Simplicity and the Conclusion.** Public speakers of earlier generations often made the Conclusion a genuine peroration, in which lofty terms and sentiments were uttered in tones and words that were highly artificial. The contemporary speaker, especially the debater, cultivates sincerity and simplicity in the Conclusion as in other sections of his argument.

***B*. Methods of Developing the Conclusion.** Since the purpose of the Conclusion is to make clear what has been stated, or to

reënforce the argument, or to insure the desired emotional response from the audience, the content will consist of a summary, or a vivid picturing of the whole problem from an emotional and imaginative angle, or an appeal reënforced by illustration, quotation, or other rhetorical device.

1. *Summary.* Make the Conclusion a summary. This may be a review of both affirmative and negative arguments, or a recapitulation of one's own case, or a summary of both one's own case and that which will be presently discussed by one's colleagues.

The following Conclusion to a student debate on the entrance of the United States into the World Court is a simple summary:

> In conclusion, we have observed the organization of the court, the ability of its judges, its standards and jurisdiction, and the general support given it. These facts show clearly that the court provides the legal means of settlement of international disputes. We shall later consider in detail the actual working of the court. We have discussed two main topics in this speech: first, we have outlined the need which the world has for the Permanent Court of International Justice; and we have pointed out that this court provides the actual means of settlement.

The greatest weakness in the Conclusions of such debates is that the final summaries are mechanical echoes of the brief — clear, but deadly dull. Such phrases as the following have been used until they have lost their effectiveness: "since we have proved," "therefore we maintain," "let us now sum up the case on both sides," "to summarize briefly the case for the affirmative," "we believe that we have proved," "I shall detain you but a moment longer," "let us see what we have proved," "one word more and I am done."

2. *Series of Questions.* End the speech with a series of questions put to the audience or to a succeeding speaker. This device usually looks forward to a later speech by the questioner. This final questioning is worth while only if the framer knows his ground. H. J. Allen, in a joint debate with Samuel Gompers

concerning the virtues of the Kansas industrial-disputes act, closed his speech thus:

In the moment that remains I should like most respectfully to ask President Gompers if he will answer this question:

When a dispute between capital and labor brings on a strike affecting the production and distribution of the necessaries of life, thus threatening the public peace and the impairing of public health, has the public any rights in such a controversy, or is it a private war between capital and labor?

If you answer this question in the affirmative, Mr. Gompers, how would you protect the rights of the public?

And in addition, I wish him to define for us if he will, who had the divine right to forbid the switchmen to strike in their outlaw strike? Who controls the divine right to quit work? [1]

Such questions are often cleverly worded summaries of the preceding discussion, as in the case above.

3. *Suggesting a Solution.* Sometimes conclude the speech by suggesting but not proving a solution. The statement would be, of course, subject to all the criticism of any other unproved proposition, and is justifiable only when the speaker has already established his case fully. W. W. Atterbury, in discussing the proposition that "the public can secure the railroad service it wants," concluded:

In my judgment, the solution is a simple one but it requires your whole-hearted coöperation and that of every other citizen.

a. Enable the railroads to get on their feet financially, to restore their credit, and bring their property up to a state of development sufficient to meet the growing needs of the country.

b. Permit the railroad officers to run their railroad business without being manacled by a mass of restrictions and unnecessary regulations.

c. Back up the railroad officers in their efforts to cut down the cost of transportation, and make their service responsive to the business needs of the country.[2]

[1] *Modern Eloquence,* Vol. VII, p. 21. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

[2] *Modern Eloquence,* Vol. IV, p. 8. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

4. *Reënforcing the Argument by Rephrasing the Main Ideas in Dignified and Different Terms.* Note the Conclusion to a student speech in defense of the liberal type of college training:

True education is not to be gained by the acquirement of mere technical skill. Stressing of superficial accomplishments, disregard of genius, will inevitably have as its consequence degeneration and decay. If the instructional system is to retain its influence, if the stagnation which threatens is not to overcome us, we must combine with our modern learning the stalwart virtues of a former age. Our aim must be the development not of characterless machines, but of men; our aspiration not the accumulation of daily bread, but the discovery of truth and beauty. Upon the realization of these desires, the hard monotony of the present age will give place to an existence of rich and varied experiences. Once again, the colleges will teach men how to live.

5. *Reference to Occasion.* Congratulate the audience upon the occasion and the other speakers upon their addresses. The rule is always: Don't overdo it. And don't repeat such felicitations if they have already been given. The last American speaker in a debate between Oxford and an American university said in conclusion:

But our argument would not be complete should we fail to add our most convincing point this evening: that we appreciate more than words can tell the opportunity of debating with representatives of the most venerable university in the world. We hope that one result of this debate has been the bringing together into closer union of Anglo-Saxon friendship, not only the members of these two universities, but also the people of the two English-speaking nations. Such discussions and meetings will bring to these nations a friendship which will mean far more than any political alliance Europe and the whole world have ever known.

6. *Appeal for Favorable Decision.* Appeal to your audience for a favorable decision on your proposition. Make the appeal direct, simple, brief, spontaneous. Don't overdo it. An Oxford speaker ended his fifteen-minute speech thus:

We have been debating a great international question of the highest importance, and I therefore say to you as I sit down that I hope you will not think this vote which is to be taken is unimportant. Remember

that might is not always right and it is my duty and your duty to each other and to the world to see that the peace of the world is not lost forever in a forest of bayonets shutting off the sun.

7. *Personal Ending.* Occasionally use the personal ending. It is usually effective only in the mouth of some individual whose motives have been questioned. At its best the persuasive value of the personal conclusion is tremendous, as in Webster's speech before the Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case. Lloyd George on a number of occasions resorted to this method with great effect. Note the final words in his defense of the budget, delivered at Limehouse, London, 1909:

Why should I put burdens on the people? I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials; and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxiety which they bear with such patience and fortitude. When the Prime Minister did me the honor of inviting me to take charge of the National Exchequer at a time of great difficulty, I made up my mind in framing the Budget which was in front of me, that at any rate no cupboard should be bared, no lot should be harder to bear. By that test I challenge them to judge the Budget.[1]

8. *Quotation, Anecdote, Striking Statement.* End with a quotation, anecdote, or striking statement. Make the material relevant and condense it. Notice the brisk narrative of the following conclusion to David Starr Jordan's address in defense of the higher education of women:

Final question: Does not coeducation lead to marriage? Most certainly it does; and this fact needs not and cannot be denied. . . . It will be seen then that nearly all those who are graduates of coeducational colleges have married college friends. In most cases college men have chosen college women; and in all cases both men and women are thoroughly satisfied with the outcome of coeducation. It is part of the legitimate function of higher education to prepare women, as well as men, for happy and successful lives.

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. IX, p. 393. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

An Eastern professor, lately visiting a Western State university, asked one of the Seniors what he thought of the question of coeducation.

"I beg your pardon," said the student; "what question do you mean?"

"Why, coeducation," said the professor; "the education of women in colleges for men."

"Oh," said the student; "coeducation is not a question here."

And he was right. Coeducation is never a question where it has been fairly tried.[1]

In general, the Conclusion must fit the audience. Sometimes it is preferable to frame the closing remarks only when under the spell of the occasion. The exact situation may inspire the speaker to a type of utterance at once spontaneous and persuasive, more effective than anything that might have been previously set down and reproduced. Don't ramble, don't expand, don't introduce new elements. Select the type of Conclusion, or the combination of types, that will bear home most impressively your points. When you have finished, stop.

IX. Sentence Structure

***A.* Importance of Sentence Structure.** The greatest economy of the listener's attention, the greatest appeal, and the most complete response result from proper consideration of sentence structure. It is assumed that the student of argument and debate has had considerable training in English. It is nevertheless worth while to review types of sentence structure that are most appropriate in the composition of an effective debate.

***B.* Short and Long Sentences.** The short sentence is to be preferred to the complex or compound sentence. Omit the rambling structure sometimes adapted to meditative or descriptive prose. The short statement is easy to grasp and to recall. It is used to define, to discriminate, to emphasize, and especially to reason closely. Note the following illustration of the opening speech for the negative in a college debate:

[1] *Modern Eloquence*, Vol. VI, p. 302. Modern Eloquence Corporation, New York, 1923.

We have just had presented to us a moving picture of the disaster that would follow a general railroad strike. I was moved, and I think you were moved. But let us stop for a moment and think. Why should we be moved? Why should we be excited? Why should we be alarmed?

The gentlemen have told us that there have been 220 strikes in the last ten years. They have told us that we are therefore to add compulsion to investigation in order to prevent the urgent and immediate possibility of a general railroad strike. We want to ask the gentlemen about those strikes. We have found no record of them. How long did they last? How great a territory did they cover? The Bureau of Labor has recorded seven strikes since 1906, exactly seven strikes!

Let me say a word about those seven strikes. The first, which occurred in the Colorado and Southern, involving 200 men, lasted one day. Was that a serious strike? The second, on the Burlington and Broad Top Mountain Railway, involved ninety-five men. The third centered on the city of Saint Paul. The fourth was on the Central Vermont.

Excessive use of the choppy sentence, however, should be avoided. The style is likely to be thin and unrhythmical. Occasionally the longer sentence serves to give variety and dignity. It may be used to retard the movement, amplify, fill in details, and to vary the rhythm. But it may make the style heavy and wearisome to follow.

C. **Periodic, Loose, and Balanced Structure.** The loose sentence is conversational, easily comprehended, lacking in artificiality.

It should be alternated with the periodic structure, which produces suspense, accelerates the movement, concentrates attention, and adds force and dignity. The balanced sentence emphasizes through contrast and comparison. It is forceful, impressive through its cadence, easy to recall, although it may be artificial and tautological. It is more characteristic of a highly impassioned speech — for example, a college oration — than of the more measured debate.

D. **Transitional, Summarizing, and Introductory Sentences.** Most debaters fail to use a sufficient number of sentences to link together the various parts of the speech. Transitional sentences

of this type would read: "Not only does military training in our universities give sound discipline, physical development, and mental training, but it furnishes a necessary arm of national defense in providing reserve officers." An audience will of course follow a debate much more easily if these elements are freely used to lead the listeners from idea to idea and to give them opportunity both to look back and to peer ahead.

***E.* Imperative, Exclamatory, and Interrogative Sentences.** The introduction of imperative or exclamatory sentences takes place only when the speaker's emotion runs high and he assumes the rôle of a dynamic leader of the audience. The command, unless it is given in conciliatory tones, and unless it invites the auditor to a task already attractive to him, will antagonize. The speaker at such points drops the more intimate "we" and substitutes "Go," "Think of this plan," "Consider the result," "Inspect this instance." Interspersed with other sentence forms it may come as a pleasing contrast and in its direct suggestion may facilitate the accomplishment of the speaker's purpose.

The interrogative sentence, especially the rhetorical question, is a most effective device, and is not used as often as it should be. The general interrogation creates suspense and so is an easy means of holding attention. It is particularly convenient as a means of introducing new paragraphs. Like all other sentence forms, it must not be worked to death. The rhetorical sentence is phrased so as to imply a given answer. The audience is asked, "Is this not true?" And the suggestion is thus strongly set forth that the idea *is* true. The rhetorical question is thus a vigorous assertion disguised as an interrogation.

Note the use of the rhetorical question in the following quotation from an address on "Liberty and Law" delivered by Charles E. Hughes before the American Bar Association at Detroit, Michigan, in 1925:

> Yet it is with respect to the freedom of learning that we find a disposition to impose restrictions which cannot fail to give us grave concern. It is to be observed in the field of medical research. What

department of intellectual activity is more important to a free people? Of what avail are the privileges of life, if we do not live? Of what gain is liberty, if we succumb to the ravages of communicable diseases? Of what value is government, if it puts research under ban and permits the spread of plagues which knowledge may prevent? In what area of endeavor has there been such a fruitage as in preventive medicine, saving countless lives and putting an end to indescribable agonies of human beings? Yet we observe persistent attempts in our legislatures not only to impair the immunities already gained, but to hamper scientific investigations through which alone the scourge of disease now beyond remedy may come under control.[1]

***F.* Sentence Coherence.** Make clear the relationship of the various parts of the sentences. Avoid the use of obscure words of reference. "Our first speaker told the preceding negative speaker that he had made a wrong assumption" contains an equivocal "he." "Let us examine some of the reasons for the adoption of these proposals and discover if they are valid" also may lead the reader or listener astray. The adverbs *only*, *almost*, *ever*, *just*, *scarcely*, and similar terms should be placed next to and usually just before the words they modify. "I wish only to refer to one point," would be better stated, "I wish to refer to only one point." "I scarcely know one instance in favor of the bank-guaranty plan" should read, "I know scarcely one instance in favor of the bank-guaranty plan."

Make a gerund prepositional phrase modify the substantive it should modify. "In summing up the negative one point must be made absolutely clear at the present time." This type of error, as frequent in speaking as in writing, should be remedied by inserting "we" or "I" and changing the construction. Another error frequently made is that of having an indefinite antecedent for a phrase beginning with the adjective "due." "America is prosperous, due to the war," should be revised as follows: "The prosperity of America is due to the war." Frequently, too, auxiliary verb forms are omitted; although "to" may be occa-

[1] H. D. Lindgren, *Modern Speeches*, p. 141. F. S. Crofts & Co., 1926.

sionally omitted before its infinitive, as, "We ought to reduce taxes, cut down the army, and join the World Court." The comparative degree is often misused, as, "America is stronger than any nation."

G. **Sentence Force.** The sentence should be so organized as to make clear the relative importance of each part. Force, mass, or vigor is necessary if the style is to impress or persuade. To secure emphasis: place an important idea in a separate sentence; break up a sentence that seems unduly long; condense a wordy statement; combine jerky sentences; vary the structure; vary the length of sentences; arrange ideas in the order of climax; place important words at the beginning or end; avoid the profuse use of "there is," "there are," "and so"; place the chief ideas in main clauses and subordinate ideas in subordinate clauses; observe the use of parallel construction for parallel ideas; use the active voice rather than the passive.

X. Language

Language, as suggested earlier, furnishes the substitute stimuli to produce the needed response. "The mind of man is peopled like some silent city, with a sleeping company of reminiscences, associations, impressions, attitudes, emotions, to be awakened into fierce activity at the touch of words." [1] With the right selection and combination of words the reactor may be stimulated to appropriate the ideas and yield to the suggestions you are attempting to express in your argument; with an unhappy use of language you will inhibit the desirable tendencies and so leave him indifferent or hostile, even though your voice, action, and other means of communication may be properly directed. Words are to be regarded as most important instruments of suggestion.

A. **Necessity for a Wide Vocabulary.** The debater, like other creative artists who use language as a tool, must acquire a dis-

[1] Quoted by A. P. Stone and S. L. Garrison, *Essentials of Argument*, p. 162. Henry Holt and Company, 1916.

crimination in the use of words. He must use words that are accurate, concrete, euphonious, connotative as well as denotative. He must have a style that is both clear and pleasing. For this purpose he will read widely from standard writers and from the collected speeches of Lincoln, Wilson, and other orators. He will write and rewrite and will translate and paraphrase. He will continually refer to the dictionary and will know the history and etymology of words. He will use freely books of synonyms and antonyms and will add new words to his vocabulary each day.

B. **Accuracy.** Your first duty is to use words accurately. In analysis debaters define with exactness; the same thoroughness should carry over in the use of language throughout the speech. Do not use "at about" for "about"; "data" as if it were singular; "each other" for "one another"; "he is liable to lose his case" for "he is likely to lose his case"; "do it like I do" for "do it as I do"; "anywheres" for "anywhere"; "we have had considerable trouble" for "we have had much trouble"; "inside of" for "inside"; "kind of" for "fairly," as, "the election was fairly close"; "nowhere near" for "not nearly"; "off of" for "off"; "out loud" for "aloud"; "over with" for "over"; "providing" for "if"; "sort of" for "rather"; "through" for "finished"; "try and" for "try to"; "end up" for "end"; "visit with" for "visit"; "different than" for "different from"; "get to" for "able to"; "some better" for "somewhat better"; "guess" for "think."

Slang is frequently substituted for an accurate word. In colloquial usage slang has its place; sometimes a slang phrase expresses with great vividness the desired connotation. Slang is justified when it is recent, vivid, and free from vulgarity. The overuse of it limits the vocabulary, and slang which is current today must be discarded tomorrow as out of fashion. From its very nature it can rarely be precise. In general, it is associated with mental vagueness. Debaters and other speakers will avoid such vocabulary as "beat it," "we were not easy marks," "we have the dope on that point," "we had a confab with Professor

Smith," "he pulled a new wrinkle," "some job," "going some," "it made a hit." Flaubert advised Guy de Maupassant as follows:

> Whatever may be the thing which one wishes to say, there is but one word for expressing it, only one word to animate it, only one adjective to qualify it. It is essential to search for this word, for this verb, for this adjective, until they are discovered, and to be satisfied with nothing else.

***C.* Originality.** The search for the precise word will result in a more original style. To obtain freshness and originality you will avoid, for the most part, mechanical and formal expressions. It is of course necessary to make the material absolutely clear; in addition it should be attractive. The method of enumeration will leave the listener cold.

Use also as sparingly as possible the technical terms of debate, such as "origin of the question," "honorable opponents," "worthy opponents," "honorable judges," "judges," "I have proved," "I have proven," "we still maintain," "refuted the argument," "debate," "discussion," "we defy our opponents," "conflicting opinions," "main issues," "first," "secondly," "thirdly," "we challenge our opponents," "our friends of the negative," "well," "consequently," "extraneous matter," "waived matter," "in summary let me say," "I thank you."

As the customary style of the college debater is charged with mechanical and trite terms, so is it highly repetitious. Something is to be said in favor of repetition as a rhetorical device to secure force. Burke, Webster, Chatham, Erskine, were masters of force through their ability to reënforce an idea by repetition. You need, however, to guard against repetition of another sort, the result of a narrow vocabulary or of carelessness. Such repetition makes student debates monotonous and weak. If the subject happens to be, RESOLVED, *That the government should own and operate the coal mines*, the terms "need," "ownership and operation," and "coal mines" are used over and over. The remedy lies in a determination to use a varied vocabulary.

D. **Conciseness.** Conciseness is a matter of expressing the subject with the greatest economy of words. Formal school debate especially encourages brevity because of the time limits. When the debater realizes that he must unfold his entire argument in a ten-minute speech, he practices the art of concise statement which perhaps is the chief glory of the debating style. The amateur stylist sometimes lingers unduly over each idea to make it clear and significant; he elaborates each illustration; he quotes authorities at length; he expands his summaries, his appeals, his introductions. Genuine economy necessitates discrimination in the selection of these ideas and illustrations.

To secure brevity avoid tautology, the unnecessary repetition of the same idea in different words. "Will the gentleman please repeat that statement again?" should of course be, "Will the gentleman please repeat that statement?" Avoid, moreover, pleonasm, the use of words which are structurally unnecessary. "There were fifty nations assembled at the city of Geneva" becomes, "Fifty nations assembled at Geneva." "The Economic Commission went through the formalities by which they welcomed the delegate sent as the representative of Russia" may be more tersely stated, "The Economic Commission formally welcomed the Russian delegate." Repetitious words should be sloughed off; paragraphs should become sentences; sentences, phrases; and phrases, words.

Clearness and force can be retained without sacrifice to brevity. The following selection contains many unnecessary words:

> We propose a change. Therefore the question naturally arises, Why is any change necessary? In other words, what is wrong at the present time? The Volstead Act is very deficient. One of these great deficiencies lies in the fact that public opinion does not support it. Not a single law can function well if public opinion refuses to support it. It is self-evident that there are many cases in which the public has become aroused so that it has turned active opposition to the Volstead Act. There are many people who would rather see a man break the law. In many cases they would even aid him in doing it.

The revision, expressing the essential argument in half as many words, obviously gains in directness and force:

In our proposal of a change the question naturally arises, What conditions at present demand a change? One of the great deficiencies of the Volstead Act is that public opinion fails to support it. No law can function properly without public support, and the public, in many cases, has actively opposed the act. Many people, instead of opposing law-breaking in this case, aid the violator.

The ideas are retained; compactness is added without the loss of clearness.

***E.* Concreteness.** Concreteness consists of substituting specific terms for abstract ones, the use of language which touches off stimuli and results in the awakening of the "sleeping company of reminiscences, associations," and emotions. Concreteness is largely a matter of substituting condensed illustration or example for the general statement. Contrast the examples of the abstract in the first column with the examples of the concrete in the second.

Abstract	Concrete
A Federal child-labor law would mean that Congress would control the physical labor in every home in America.	"The passage of the Federal child-labor law would mean that every time Johnny's dad wanted him to chop wood, dad would be compelled to get a permit from Washington."
When Charlie Lindbergh arrived in Washington, D.C., upon his return from his New York to Paris flight, he found much mail awaiting him.	"Three large U.S. Mail trucks, displaying large signs which read, 'The People of the United States congratulate Lindy,' carried 500,000 letters to Colonel Lindbergh when he disembarked from the *Memphis* at the Washington Navy Yard."
The proportion of students of a university who participate in intercollegiate debating is small.	"Of the six thousand students at the University of Iowa in 1927 twenty-nine participated in intercollegiate debate."

Abstract	Concrete
The present cloture rule of the United States Senate gives opportunity for much manipulation and considerable delay.	"The present cloture rule of the United States Senate gave Senator Smoot of Utah the opportunity to hold the floor for seventeen hours and gave Senator 'Fighting Bob' LaFollette opportunity to read aloud books and papers for over ten hours."
The pyramiding of profit by middlemen makes the retail price of coal excessive.	"The middleman profit means that coal costing $6 per ton at the mine retails at $15 per ton."
Federal government business ventures are financial failures.	"Muscle Shoals, with its government-built nitrate plant costing $106,000,000, is worth today only $8,000,000."
The American people in their sports, amusements, customs, are barbarous.	"The American people are given to prize fights, home-brew parties, and lynchings."

***F.* Illustrative Language.** Concreteness often takes the form of illustration, comparison, analogy, or figure of speech. The use of such connotative language is sometimes regarded as artificial and ornamental. Figurative language, however, is fundamentally justifiable as a means to accomplish the practical ends of argument. Illustrations and figurative terms make the debate clear, vivid, emphatic, impressive, and interesting. Moreover, they often have value as evidence and so further directly the establishment of conviction. Thus when Burke, in his discussion of conciliation with the colonies, wishes to make clear that by a natural law the power of a large empire is comparatively slight in its more remote colonies, he uses figurative language: "In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it." Speaking of the right to tax America he proceeded: "Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing." He added: "Here they felt its pulse, and as they found that beat they thought themselves sick or sound."

A number of suggestions, most of them obvious, are here offered as aids in the use of illustration.[1]

1. Let the illustrations be sufficiently numerous. An abstract style and literal phrasing should in every case be translated into concrete language.

2. Illustrations should never be a substitute for ideas. Popular platform speakers sometimes content themselves with a list of stories, loosely bound together by a theme. Debaters, by reason of the limitation of time, the significance of their subject, and the decision at stake, are less likely to sacrifice ideas to illustration. Even here, nevertheless, especially in the open-forum discussions, the example sometimes looms up as an end in itself. The mention of current happenings that possess the public mind, such as a transatlantic airplane flight just completed, would be interesting to the hearers. But an allusion of this kind might distract the attention of the listeners from your proposition to the general idea of flying over oceans.

3. Illustrations should be pertinent. Be sure that your language emphasizes what you wish to emphasize. Select the figures that best express your ideas.

4. Analogies and figures of speech should lie well within the experience of the audience. Victor Hugo described the battle of Waterloo as represented by a letter A; Stevenson compared the shape of the Bay of Monterey to a bent fishing-hook.

5. Illustrations, analogies, figures of speech, should be well within your own experience. Let each definite detail come not from artificial collections of information but from your personal observation or your reading of history or other sources. Occasionally debaters will refer to books of humorous selections as means of embellishing their speeches with humor. The effect is often pathetic.

6. Worn-out illustrations and hackneyed figures should be avoided. "No plan is perfect. Even the sun has spots" made a

[1] See J. A. Winans, *Public Speaking*, pp. 141–146, for an excellent discussion of illustration. The Century Co., 1917.

strong impression on debate audiences. But this metaphor has run its course. "You cannot break up the trusts any more than you can unscramble eggs" has also had its day with debate teams. "The plan is a dangerous weapon" is also worn out. More objectionable than worn metaphors and similes are those that are "mixed," those that involve some contradiction or incongruity. "I will now embark upon the feature on which this question mainly hinges" calls up the combined figures of oceans and swinging doors. "The shadow of enormous debts hanging over Italy and France spurs these nations on" also connotes contradictory associations. "The poisoned darts of the Communist propagandists must be throttled at the outset" and "the wheels of infant industries must not be snuffed out by tariff-protected business" are also disquieting or confusing.

G. **Simplicity.** Variety in language is consistent with the idiomatic and simple style. In general, use short words, avoid the elevated style characteristic of an oration and the technical terms usually associated with a technical subject. If you discuss malingering, real wages, fixation of responses, hyperkinetic types, avoid the terms or explain carefully what you mean.

H. **Directness.** Intimate contact with the audience will be definitely increased through the use of the personal pronouns "I," "we," "you."

I. **Euphony.** Avoid harsh combinations of sound, such as "a hundred thousand sensational lists of utterances"; avoid frequent alliteration, such as "Five thousand frightened miners flared up, warning the employers that war would come." Read the speech aloud and reorganize for euphony, which means *good sound*. The persuasive appeal will be more effective if the sound of the words attracts favorable attention. Words difficult to pronounce are difficult to the ear and should be struck from the speech.

J. **Rhythm.** Rhythm is the progressive movement of prose in which the various thought units are expressed in a harmoniously stressed and unstressed series of syllables. Public addresses, including formal debates, are more effective in inducing belief and

action when couched in such moving language. Almost all great argumentative and other speeches contain these rhythmical passages. Every student of discussion will study and emulate the cadences found in such models, as, for example, Henry W. Grady's "The New South"; Carl Schurz's "Plea for Amnesty"; William J. Bryan's "Cross of Gold Speech"; Woodrow Wilson's "Lincoln, the Miracle of Democracy"; and A. J. Beveridge's "On the Retention of the Philippines."

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Write a short Introduction on one of the following subjects or on some similar subject (reduced to a proposition): Saturday (or Monday) classes, laboratory (or other) fees, the athletic coaching system, billboard advertising, school politics, the local political situation, the national debt, light cruisers, the National Defense Act, China, college tennis. Exchange these exercises with those of other members and criticize the style of the compositions.

2. Illustrate three different methods of beginning the speech written as Exercise 3.

3. Write an argument (excluding Introduction and Conclusion) of five hundred words on one of the subjects above. Illustrate condensation, brevity, illustration, simplicity, and other principles discussed in this chapter.

4. Study from the point of view of argumentative style one of the following: Earl of Chatham, "Attempt to subjugate America"; Edmund Burke, "Conciliation with America"; James Fox, "Rejection of Bonaparte's Overtures"; Pitt the Younger, "Abolition of the Slave Trade"; Thomas Erskine, "Defense of Stockdale"; R. B. Sheridan, "Trial of Hastings"; John Bright, "Free Trade"; W. E. Gladstone, "Domestic and Foreign Affairs"; Daniel Webster, "Reply to Hayne"; J. C. Calhoun, "Compromise Measures"; Abraham Lincoln, "Political Issues" (for these references consult Fulton and Trueblood, *British and American Eloquence*, Ginn and Company, 1912); Woodrow Wilson, "At War with Germany" (consult *War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, Ginn and Company, 1918).

5. Rewrite one of your old debates in order to improve the style.

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CHAPTER XV

DELIVERY IN DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

I. IMPORTANCE OF DELIVERY. II. DELIVERY AND EMOTIONAL ACTIVITY. III. DELIVERY AND INTELLECTUAL BEHAVIOR. IV. DELIVERY AND CONVERSATIONAL MODE. V. PLATFORM MANNERS IN GENERAL. VI. ACTION. VII. THE VOICE. VIII. PRONUNCIATION

I. Importance of Delivery

In judging the efficiency of an oral argument you should of course give chief consideration to the material or ideas rather than to the delivery. In reality, however, audiences give great weight to presentation. We must admit that even the most learned and logical auditors are susceptible to forceful speech. Though your arguments are a bit flimsy, you will often carry weight with the audience, if not with an expert judge, by means of your superior delivery. On the other hand, though you recast your argument to strengthen the links, though you select the vital phrases for expressing your ideas, though you give clear reply in rebuttal, you may fail if your voice is weak and your attitude hesitant or uncertain. Considerable time in preparation should therefore be given to practicing delivery. In the distribution of the debater's schedule of preparation he usually expends so much energy and so many hours on collecting and organizing his material that he has little time left for definite drill in delivery. One third of your time, as a rough estimate, should go to training in oral presentation, preferably in practice debates.

II. Delivery and Emotional Activity

Good delivery is based upon proper emotional behavior. In the discussion of emotion as a factor in argument it was made clear that emotion is a state of bodily activity in which responses are

transferred to sensory areas of the brain and become *emotion* when consciously experienced. This state of emotion in turn generates bodily activity, and bodily action, according to Dr. Woolbert,[1] is the basis of good speaking. This emotional activity, moreover, exhibits those qualities of the speaker, such as confidence and optimism, which command attention and win the approval of the audience. Emotional response which leads to undue muscular activity is of course disastrous, as when the speaker exhibits stage fright, or when he outwardly succumbs to emotion, or when he merely sways about in a continual state of nervous unrest. Proper emotional control, on the other hand, leads to confidence.

How, then, shall you develop confidence? By practicing emotional control. Rely on yourself. Prepare your material so carefully that you are ready to defend it under all circumstances. Get rid of the feeling of inferiority. Refuse to allow the impressiveness of the occasion, the number of people present, the celebrity of the chairman or of those who happen to listen, the severity of the critics, the power of the opposing team, if the situation happens to be that of debate, or the superiority of your auditor, if the occasion is that of a personal interview, to overwhelm you. Confidence grows out of a conviction that you are well prepared, that you have the stamina and ability to handle any situation. Undue self-esteem is of course unfortunate, but most debaters and speakers suffer from underestimation rather than overestimation of their powers. Act as if you were bold, confident, and courageous; and confidence will in most cases result. The audience will instinctively have more faith in you. Their faith will reënforce your own; confidence will beget confidence.

III. Delivery and Intellectual Behavior

Intellectual behavior, like emotional life, is based upon the response to stimuli. Our intellectual power, then, will depend partly upon the number of substitute stimuli acting and upon

[1] C. H. Woolbert, *Fundamentals of Speech* (Revised Edition), pp. 67 ff. Harper & Brothers, 1927.

the completeness with which we respond. The satisfactory mental life, therefore, will be based upon ability to recall or memorize and upon the capacity to create images. Superior delivery is based upon the power to recall vividly a wide variety of experiences and upon the conviction that our ideas should prevail. Conviction or belief is strengthened by a decision to act on the data in our possession, or upon a realization that our experience is incomplete, or upon an instinctive desire to adjust ourselves to our environment.[1] Keen observation, then, personal experience, and speech based on conviction will be strong factors in success in oral discussion.

IV. Delivery and Conversational Mode

Good delivery, most texts on speech remind you, is a matter of conversational mode. Conversation is the norm, the type of speaking we do under circumstances when audiences are absent and conditions invite genuine talk. This conversational type of speech may be soft-spoken or vigorous — just as conversations are. Where shall we draw the line between the public-speaking or exhibition style and the conversational mode? Winans has described conversational delivery as characterized by two essential elements: (1) a full realization of the content of the words as they are uttered and (2) a lively sense of communication.[2] The ability to think on one's feet and to create or re-create the thought at the time of delivery is the basic quality of all right speaking, including that of debating.

The converse is absent-mindedness. Speakers, especially those who are interested in the exhibition, who know they will be estimated by their appearance, their voice, and their gestures, or those who have memorized their remarks, are thinking about matters other than the content of the ideas they are presenting; or if they present the ideas intellectually, they may fail to do

[1] F. A. C. Perrin and D. B. Klein, *Behaviouristic Psychology*. Henry Holt and Company, 1926.

[2] J. A. Winans, *Public Speaking*, pp. 31 ff. The Century Co., 1917.

so imaginatively or emotionally. The same disposition to carry on argument as an exhibition leads to indirectness, the antithesis of communicativeness. Indirect speaking makes the audience a group of spectators, whereas they should be participants. Genuine speech should be a social experience, made up of dialogue, in which the speaker's part is audible and the audience's part equally expressive even if inaudible. The communicative debater looks squarely at those before him. He has that bodily animation, that openness and ease of voice, that active mentality, and that intimacy or familiarity with his group that will establish perfect attention and mutual understanding. Meditation, day-dreaming, flamboyant declamation, posing, and similar practices have ruined many a well-prepared debate and argument.

A. **The Conversational Mode and Reading the Manuscript.** Is reading of the manuscript consistent with effective delivery? College-commencement speakers, especially distinguished ones who know their remarks will be broadcasted and printed, and sometimes preachers, like Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, of New York, have followed their manuscripts closely without sacrificing the effective elements of public speaking. They have realized the content of their speeches or sermons, and they have had at every turn a lively sense of communication. Nevertheless the reading is likely to bore the listeners; the temptation to repeat empty phrases is great. Those who read must be so familiar with the manuscript as to refer to it without removing their eyes from the audience, and certainly reading allows little opportunity for the spontaneous utterance necessary in a give-and-take school or college debate.

B. **The Conversational Mode and Speaking from Memory.** Close memorizing is almost equally objectionable. It too may prove satisfactory for general speech-making. In such cases, however, the speaker must so completely memorize his document as to permit him the confidence and ease spoken of in the early part of this chapter; he must on the platform create anew his thought, so that it is literally a re-creation and not an echo of past

thought; in addition he must have a lively sense of communication. It is said that G. W. Curtis on occasion practiced with complete skill the memoriter method. So have W. J. Bryan, C. E. Hughes, and many another. Inexperienced speakers, however, almost invariably concern themselves so completely with trying to recall the lines that the directness or communicativeness is lost. Especially in a debate is the repetition from memory impracticable. A debate, as suggested above, is a clash between two or more speakers. If the speaker is striving to reproduce from memory set passages, he obviously cannot adjust himself to the moment. The method puts the speaker in a strait-jacket and defeats the chief object of debate, which is to rebut.

***C.* The Conversational Mode and Impromptu Speaking.** Impromptu speaking takes place in response to an invitation for an immediate talk upon a specified subject, this talk allowing for no preparation. Such speaking no doubt encourages freedom, genuineness, and directness of appeal. A highly experienced and well-informed speaker may use the method with success. But since it allows for no previous preparation whatever, it clearly has no place in debate — or little in any other public-speech situation. The impromptu speaker often rambles. In his effort to summon real thought he merely bores the audience. Impromptu debating is found to be superficial, discursive, and illogical.

***D.* The Conversational Mode and Extemporaneous Speaking.** The extemporaneous method, more than any other, lends itself to practical discussion and debate. The extemporaneous speaker talks directly from an outline, but does not conform to a prearranged order of words. Memory in this case is confined to the leading ideas of the debate. With a few notes for occasional reference the speaker can talk freely and forcefully, always in contact with his audience, always alive and responsive to the actual conditions.

The dangers of extemporaneous speaking are obvious. One of these is overstatement. The inspired orator may on occasion exaggerate and perhaps may be pardoned for the rhetori-

cal liberty. The arguer, on the contrary, must be accurate. In his fervor to impress he may fall into sweeping generalizations, or expand analogies that are far-fetched, or draw false deductions that assume adequate causal relations. Other weaknesses are the mechanical statement of ideas — an echo of the brief or outline, a tendency to overelaborate summaries, the endless repetition of words, and the use of hackneyed expressions. The remedy, of course, lies in rigid and complete preparation of speeches: writing and rewriting, to strengthen the vocabulary; practicing oral composition, to avoid a purely mechanical style; and in the earlier stages of the development of a debater, combining the memoriter method with the extempore.

***E.* The Conversational Mode and the Use of Notes, Outlines, and Charts.** The disposition of some judges of debate and teachers of the subject to frown upon notes is hardly justified. Since debating demands the unfolding and simplification of an involved argument, it may be an undue tax upon the debater to keep in mind the entire framework of his discourse. Especially in rebuttal, where the other side should be quoted accurately and the points made by two or three speakers kept before the audience, he is justified in going to the platform with the important items jotted down for reference. The real test is whether he is completely familiar with his argument and notes. Outlines and notes are to be condemned only when they interfere with the directness of delivery and block the thought of the speaker.

It goes without saying that these platform notes should be merely speaker's notes and not a complete brief. The speaker who attempts to use his complete brief gives forth a wooden performance even more deadly than a monotonously read speech. Speaker's notes, other than those for rebuttal, should be condensed, — preferably typewritten, — and should include important quotations and statistics.

Shall charts be used? They may be introduced, but frequently an agreement prohibiting their use is made. In recent years they have been resorted to less frequently. Debaters should agree in

advance if such devices are to be included. A chart should be simple and clear, so that it may be easily interpreted and so that an audience may see at a glance what it is intended to convey. Charts should be used only if the material could not otherwise be conveniently presented. The data should be accurate and unbiased. Free opportunity should be given to the other side to discuss the material. This latter stipulation means that a clever debater can usually turn the material to his own account. Good strategy generally advises against charts.

On occasions other than formal debates charts may greatly aid the speaker in presenting his point. Former Secretary of Agriculture Meredith, talking before a chamber of commerce group at a brief noon session, used two or three placards to clarify his argument for solving the farm problem.

V. Platform Manners in General

Ease on the platform will come only after considerable practice. When you rise to speak, address the chairman and then the audience. Say simply, "Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen." It is unnecessary to salute various groups present; as, "Honorable judges, worthy opponents, members of the Whitby student body, friends," etc. Judges in particular prefer to regard themselves as part of the audience. Speak quietly, firmly, distinctly. Control yourself. Even though you are inwardly nervous, practice the manner of the platform veteran. Before you rise to speak, take long breaths and relax your muscles. After you give the salutation, pause for a moment and survey your audience. Don't make the pause too long. In your bearing show purpose, certainty, positiveness. Avoid listlessness, or childish eagerness to plunge into your subject. Stand squarely on both feet, with body erect and chest high. Look squarely at your audience. Don't stare at the ceiling or gaze dreamily toward the window. Don't creep to the end of the platform, where you threaten to topple over. Avoid rising on your toes, twisting your fingers, leaning on the

reading desk, or pounding it. Cultivate poise. If you move, do so calmly. At the beginning make a slight bow, and at the end an inconspicuous nod of the head. The farewell salutation, "I thank you," is to be avoided. Throughout avoid a belligerent attitude. Keep on the common ground of feeling, treating both audience and opponents with sincere respect. All that has been said about humor and the personal qualities of the speaker should be reviewed at this point. See the following sections for detailed discussion of voice and action.

VI. Action

***A.* Importance of Action.** Speech is the process of stirring thought in the mind of an audience both by words, the symbols which become substitute stimuli, and by action, likewise a symbol of great importance in arousing response. The importance of action as an aid to speaking may be easily illustrated by studying the methods of effective platform speakers. As Woolbert points out, effective speakers are never at rest but are "always doing something with arms, hands, legs, head, and face." [1] Good speaking is emotional speaking; and emotion, as indicated previously, is a general bodily activity. Good speaking requires activity of both the voice and the body. In point of time action precedes and determines speech. Listeners will follow your bodily movements with their eyes much more easily and readily than they will listen to your voice. To quote Woolbert again, the "eye is almost in every case a keener intrepreter than the ear." [2]

Further, effective speech depends upon bodily activity. Bodily ease means ease of speech; bodily disorganization means disordered speech. Active speakers almost invariably arouse much greater audience response than do inert talkers. Because, then, action is so important in good delivery, the aspects of action, posture, movement, and gesture should have the attention of every debater.

[1] C. H. Woolbert, *Fundamentals of Speech*, p. 86. Harper & Brothers, 1927.
[2] Ibid. p. 76.

***B.* Posture.** Posture is the speaker's physical bearing. Like words, it conveys meaning and does so in advance of speech. The posture of the speaker, like his movements and gestures, should convey to the observer the intended meaning. The wrong meaning will probably be transmitted if the speaker has a slouchy appearance: if he stoops unduly, or tips to one side, or wraps a leg about the speaker's stand, or hangs over the stand wearily, spreads his legs far apart, or rocks on his toes and heels, or plants his hands heavily on his hips, or folds them on his stomach, or pushes them into his pockets. What posture is to be preferred? That which will best facilitate the vocal expression of your thought. Ordinarily the debater needs a somewhat dignified full-height bearing. But the posture must express the emotional mood which the words attempt to transfer to the reactor. The weight should be mainly on one foot, and that foot toward the audience. Your posture should convey self-control, energy, courage, sympathy for your hearers, and a desire to be as communicative as possible.

***C.* Movement.** Movement, like posture, communicates varied meanings to the observer and listener. Audiences are fascinated by movement as an end in itself. Furthermore, movement punctuates and provides coherence and unity to the oral composition. Transitions, introductory ideas, summaries, emphatic words, parenthetical expressions, rhetorical questions, paragraphs, sentences, and phrase divisions are all indicated by shifts of the speaker's weight from one foot to the other or by shifts in position from one part of the platform to the other. Literally we think with every part of our body. Therefore the movements of feet, ankles, legs, knees, hips, shoulders, arms, head, face, forehead, eyes, and other parts of the body should be trained to communicate the ideas desired.

Debaters are often guilty of two violations of proper movement. In one case they stand stock-still, when speaking, because timidity tells them to avoid criticisms of their movements by providing no movements to be criticized. Perhaps some

instructor in public speaking has told them that movement is bad form and that the dignified way is to have a minimum of bodily display. The other fault lies in excessive movement — in twisting the body or in pacing to and fro from one side of the speaker's stand to the other. Mere restless maneuvering without intellectual correlation, however, has no place in the delivery. Audiences become bored by the monotonous swing of the speaker's arms or amused at his marching and countermarching. In all things, supreme art requires balance. Immobility kills the speech; excessive movement is equally disastrous. In general, the amount and character of the movement can be determined only by the temperament and race of the speaker, by the type of subject matter, by the character, size, and physical surroundings of the audience, by the occasion, whether it be a funeral, a legislative gathering, a political rally, a college classroom, or a Fourth of July meeting.

D. **Gesture.** Gesture describes the movements of hands, arms, shoulders, head, and eyes, as distinct from general bodily movement. As indicated in the discussion of posture and movement, each of these agents has a significant movement which interprets the intended thought. Some speakers use their arms for windmills, clench their fists angrily, or execute intricate and studied gestures. They develop sweeping movements with the arm at a moment distinctly later than that in which the thought is expressed. The effective debater proceeds with his arms at his sides. They are free from the shoulders. His hands are not twisted behind him or thrust out of sight, but are instantly available for their function of interpretation. His face muscles are under control and rightly interpret the spoken language. His face is never blank. When his thought is moving and inspiring, a half-smile illumines his face; when his idea is heavy and serious, his countenance is correspondingly expressive. Even his head and shoulders by appropriate nods and shrugs become important instruments in the speech presentation. The most important agent is the eye. The accomplished speaker will look directly

into the eyes of his listeners, and by the gleam or softness or twinkle will convey whole worlds of meaning that his words could never express.

In general, gestures, whether they are emphatic, descriptive, or suggestive, should be spontaneous, forceful and yet easy, timed so that they precede vocalization, graceful, reserved, and well controlled. Instructor and fellow students will give the classmate ample and helpful criticism; his movements will gradually lose their crudeness and more and more become part of the total bodily action that expresses effectively his ideas.

VII. The Voice

Far more important, as a medium of communication, than posture, movement, or gesture is the voice. Sometimes debaters who have prepared their material with great care deliver it with a labored monotone, or with a high-pitched, a throaty, or an indistinct voice, with poor enunciation, or at a speed that defies ability to follow. The result is of course wasted effort. The voice must be used properly. It is beyond the province of this chapter to discuss with thoroughness the broad subject of voice cultivation. The student is urged to familiarize himself with texts on the subject and to enroll in classes in public speaking and voice training. It is true that under proper guidance the debater may overcome many of his vocal faults and give a presentation that is pleasing both in its delivery, which includes its vocalization, and in its content and stylistic qualities. Let us briefly summarize the elements of vocalization.

Vocalization has four characteristics: (1) quality, (2) intensity, or force, (3) pitch, (4) duration, or time.

A. **Quality.** Sounds are made up of breath, which, passing through the larynx and set vibrating by the vocal cords, becomes sound, reënforced by the action of the resonator chamber. Quality is a matter of complexity in the vibrations. When the vibrations occur in regular series, we have *tone*; when the vibra-

tions meet each other irregularly, we have *noise.* Vibrators have a fundamental tone and various partial tones, or overtones. The relationship between the fundamental tone and the overtones determines the quality. The larger the number of overtones, and the more exactly the harmonics are produced, the more beautiful and satisfying is the quality. In the vocal cords both fundamental and partial tones are initiated. The pharynx, the nasal passages, the mouth, and even the sinuses (the three chambers adjoining the nasal cavities) become the resonators.

Improvement in voice quality is largely a problem of securing the proper adjustment of the resonators. The debater, for example, whose voice is guttural or throaty will establish a more pleasing tone by cultivating better emotional control. Throatiness results from tension of the throat muscles. Therefore the throat muscles should be relaxed and the abdominal muscles relied on more fully for tone production. The tongue should be kept well forward. Occasionally a debater has a *nasal* tone, in which sounds other than *m*, *n*, and *ng* pass through the nose rather than through the mouth, because the soft palate has dropped. Nasal resonance on the sounds *m*, *n*, *ng*, should be observed; for all other sounds, it is well to practice lifting the soft palate so that the nasal opening is completely closed. The vocalized sound then passes out through the mouth. The ideal voice is clear and pleasant; it uses all the resonators; it is free from *nasality*, from guttural heaviness, from a chesty growl, and from shrill thinness. It is a voice resulting from emotional control in which tensions are normal and balance is secured between tension and relaxation.

***B.* Force, or Intensity.** Intensity is determined by the "amplitude of the vibrations of the vocal bands," or the height of the air wave and the frequency of vibration. Force means loudness, or carrying power. Be sure you speak loudly enough, but not too loudly. When you begin to speak, adjust your voice to the size of the room. Keep your eyes on the people occupying the back rows and decide whether they can hear you. Note whether you are

using too much vocal force. The secret of providing proper intensity lies in proper control of the breathing. The muscles of respiration should be well controlled; keep the lungs filled; see that the resonance chambers are open, to give the maximum reënforcement to the sounds; enunciate clearly; learn to listen to your own voice; seek the criticism of friends; so will you succeed in delivering your discussion in emphatic tones which gain the full response.

***C.* Pitch.** Pitch depends "upon the frequency of vibration of the sounding body and is designated with accuracy in terms of the number of vibrations per second." [1] Pitch is regulated by changing the size of the resonator. Every pitch is of course adjusted to a resonator of a certain size, the lower pitch requiring a big resonator, the higher pitch a small resonator. The psychological factor is also to be reckoned with. Because voice is produced by neuromuscular activity, the result of impulses from the brain, the voice is conditioned by the "state of the mind and the emotions. . . . The more active the mind and the deeper the emotion the greater is the pitch variation, generally speaking; the more logical and clear the thought and the more perfectly balanced with emotion, the more effective are the pitch changes." [2]

Therefore think as clearly as you can, image the material clearly, and allow your emotions to become alert, but under control. Avoid an excessively high or low pitch. To reduce the pitch, open the mouth, relax the throat muscles, and think in terms of a lower pitch. To elevate the pitch, see that the voice is not muffled, and think in terms of higher pitch. Practice discrimination between pitches. Avoid a monopitch, which is caused by a lack of variation in pitch. If you have a singsong delivery or a regularly repeated rising or falling inflection, listen to the pitch patterns (tunes) of others and of yourself; study your own delivery. Self-confidence, courage, the development of proper

[1] C. E. Seashore, *The Psychology of Musical Talent*, p. 31. Silver, Burdett and Company, 1919.

[2] Alice W. Mills and Sarah T. Barrows, *Voice and Articulation*, pp. 26, 27. Department of Speech, State University of Iowa, 1926.

mental and emotional conditions, will also help. It is possible for a comparatively poor voice to develop a more pleasing melody and variation.

***D.* Duration, or Time.** Duration is measured by the length or brevity of each sound and by the rate at which sounds succeed one another. The debater's thought, emotion, his breathing, his ability to articulate, all affect duration. Debaters usually rush through their speeches, especially in rebuttal, in an attempt to say a thousand words in five minutes. One hundred and twenty-five words per minute represent usually the proper rate. A full realization of the words when you speak will prevent a wild dash; so will a desirable emotional reaction to the ideas give proper movement to your delivery. Pauses will be properly used. A lively sense of communication, too, will help you to adjust your rate and movement to secure the maximum result. If your speaking is retarded, you may correct it by having a complete knowledge of your subject and by studying sound production to improve your articulation.

VIII. Pronunciation

Pronunciation is a matter of correct utterance of vowel and consonant sounds, of proper accent, of the proper division of words into sentences. Debaters, like other speakers in and out of school, commit obvious faults, through carelessness or ignorance, in the utterance of vowel and consonant sounds. For example, the debater often says *wuz* for *was*, *worry* for *weary*, *git* for *get*, *inawgerate* for *inaugurate*, *goverment* for *government*, *vowl* for *vowel*, *ast* for *asked*, *Febuwary* for *February*, *jist* for *just*, *instid* for *instead*, *wy* for *why*, and so on. In some sections of the country he may talk of a *horspital* for *hospital*; in others he may refer to an *idear* for *idea*; in still others he may talk of *Warshington* for *Washington*. He may also mispronounce individual words by misplacing accents; as, *al'ly* for *ally'*, *en'tire* for *entire'*, *i'dea* for *ide'a*, *re'call* for *recall'*, *fi'nance* for *finance'*. Further, he

may run a series of sounds together in a sentence and omit others. Thus he may say, "Whadjumean?" "Ye-ah, Ah-mgo'n't'go-home"; "gotter right tusaywhatathink."

***A.* Importance.** Faulty pronunciation is objectionable in social and business life because it arouses prejudices; in debate and public discussion it is equally objectionable because it interferes with the successful outcome of the argument. The objection here is not simply that the fault reveals the speaker's careless habits or his lack of education, but that slovenly pronunciation violates Spencer's principle of securing the maximum economy of attention. Because custom prefers certain combinations of sounds, a university audience or a critic-judge who teaches English will probably be less likely to vote for you if you say *ad'ult* for *adult'*, *col'yum* for *column*, *pome* for *po'em*, *re'sources* for *resour'ces*.

Almost as offensive to cultured listeners is the effort of the speaker to be overprecise in his speech. Some pupils, guided by "elocutionary" teachers, block off each syllable and word so that the natural inflection — and the discrimination between strong and weak forms — is lost. "We-are-met-here-to-day-with-the-purpose-of-discussing-the-advisability-of-requiring-all-students-to-take-part-in-athletics," spoken with labored completeness, will lead most of the audience to vote against athletics in any or all of its forms.

***B.* Suggestions for Improvement.** The first step in correcting bad habits is to become familiar with the Webster, Standard, Century, and Oxford dictionaries. Carry a small dictionary and use it. You need to listen to your own speech sounds and to those of others and to become aware of speech habits. These dictionaries, it must be admitted, may well be supplemented by Daniel Jones's *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (E. P. Dutton, 1922). English spelling does not always indicate the pronunciation. This latter dictionary is helpful in that it applies the International Phonetic Alphabet. This alphabet gives one symbol for each sound. With such a system we can indicate each sound in the language; for example, *a* represents the sound of *a* in *ask*;

ea, the sound of *a* in *at*; *e* the sound of *e* in *they*. By the aid of these dictionaries and by the habit of friendly and reciprocative criticism you will improve as a speaker and debater.

C. **The Standard of Pronunciation.** The question arises, What is the proper pronunciation? If New Englander, Southerner, Mid-Westerner, each has his own method of pronouncing *a* and other letters, what is standard? A book on debating obviously has no room for a full discussion of standards of pronunciation. Most students of speech are agreed, however, that standard speech should contain no elements that would disturb the ear of the educated people of a given community or region. In general, the people of the United States follow the pronunciation given in Webster's, the Standard, or the Century dictionary. In addition, the people of the Middle West, for example, sound their *r*'s more roundly than do the New Englanders and have other regional speech characteristics. Within limits you will conform to the acceptable speech standard for your region and respect the pronunciation habits of those from other sections. In conclusion, good pronunciation for the debater as for others will result only from constant application. Study the formation of vowels and consonants. Read the books recommended at the end of this chapter. Continually inform yourself on standard usage; let your local dialect give place to the cultured usage of your community; and the usage of your community will gradually give way to a wider standard, if such can be found, which will more completely identify your speech with the best usage of your region and of the country.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. List the three or four chief faults in delivery of school and college debaters, and tell how you would correct these faults.

2. Be prepared for a two-minute discussion of the following comment:[1]

[1] C. F. Lindsley, "Delivery in Debate," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* (January, 1918), Vol. IV, pp. 116–118.

We have inherited wrong ideas about argumentative delivery.

Ninety per cent of college debaters seem to have not the slightest knowledge of effective presentation. Their speaking is so "preponderantly boisterous and conclusive, so disfigured by volcanic fervor, for which the matter ejected affords no adequate excuse," that our sensibilities are paralyzed and rendered incapable of absorbing the evidence they produce.

I inveigh against the prevalent style of debate for several reasons. First, average debating is not good public speaking. Most modern authorities will accept as the definition of public speaking, "enlarged and dignified conversation." The virtues of good address are clearness, directness, and force. But what coach can have these principles in mind and allow his team to pound furiously for thirty minutes without pause or variety? Confused thinking only can result. How many debaters can look calmly at their audience and say implicitly : "I am talking to you and you and you. I want this idea to get under your skin"? No! There is a torrent of speech accompanied by violent shakings of the head, a flood of facts and quotations, a fifteen-minute speech in ten, and a "Thank you." Now the first end of all speech is to make itself clear. Lincoln accused Douglas of being like a cuttlefish, a fish that throws out a dark substance into the water to hide its exact position. Again, he said Judge Douglas reminded him of the little Frenchman he knew in the northwest whose legs were so short that when he walked through the snow the seat of his trousers rubbed out his footprints. These analogies characterize the average college debater. His speeches also lack force. Things are great or small only by comparison. Ideas are made important by contrast. The speech that strikes a constant key, that plunges along in the same channel, orotund and extreme, lacks the first degree of force. Yes, average debating is not good public speaking. There is nothing of the human quality, no conversational style, no sincere personality. . . .

To roll forth automatically a mass of highly concentrated data, to grind along monotonously for ten minutes like a hand-organ, to recite parrot fashion, as most debaters do, is not thinking on one's feet. The chief concern of our profession — physical and psychical correlation — is totally obscured.

3. What specific suggestions have you in regard to overcoming nervousness?

4. To what extent is good delivery dependent on conviction?

5. Give a two-minute speech on each of the following topics (in each case point out the advantages and disadvantages of the method): (1) reading the speech, (2) delivery from memory, (3) extemporaneous delivery, (4) impromptu debating.

6. Defend or condemn the use of charts in debate.

7. Describe how you would conduct yourself on the platform: your form of salutation and conclusion, your attitude toward the chairman, other speakers, and the audience.

8. What are the advantages of action? (Consult J. S. Gaylord, "The Development of Action and Gesture," in *Speech Training and Public Speaking for Secondary Schools* (A. M. Drummond, editor). The Century Co., 1925.)

9. Describe what for the debater is proper posture, movement, gesture.

10. Illustrate the posture, movement, and gesture of the following individuals: (1) a college student at a football game; (2) a "green" freshman just arriving on the college campus; (3) a high-school student about to deliver his first declamation; (4) a ninety-year-old man taking a stroll; (5) a policeman on duty as traffic officer.

11. Represent some activity, such as directing an orchestra, and invite the class to guess what the situation is.

12. Explain what is voice quality. How would you correct the following? (1) breathiness, (2) huskiness, (3) thinness, (4) throatiness, (5) nasality, (6) lack of resonance. (See Borden and Busse, *Speech Correction*, pp. 223–227, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1925.)

13. Explain the speech mechanism by the analogy of the mechanism of a guitar or a violin.

14. Read aloud to the class a dozen lines of poetry or a dozen lines from some printed debate, to illustrate proper voice quality.

15. Explain what force is in delivery, and by reading a short selection illustrate for the class desirable force.

16. What relation has force to pitch? How would you attempt to lower your pitch? to raise it?

17. Read with appropriate pitch a short selection.

18. How fast should one speak on the platform? Attempt to classify your classmates roughly according to their customary rate of delivery. Arrange in three divisions; as, (1) too fast, (2) satisfactory, (3) too slow.

19. Deliver the following statements with appropriate action and voice:

a. I defy the honorable gentleman; I defy the government; I defy their whole phalanx, let them come forth. — HENRY GRATTAN

b. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms — never — never — never. — EARL OF CHATHAM, "Attempt to subjugate America"

c. The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide are these two: First, whether you ought to concede; and secondly, what your concession ought to be. — EDMUND BURKE, "Conciliation with America"

d. O miserable and unfortunate ministry! O blind and incapable men! whose measures are framed with so little foresight, and extended with so little firmness, that they not only crumble to pieces, but bring on the ruin of their country. — CHARLES JAMES FOX, "The American War"

20. Comment on the following definition of standard speech:

Standard speech is that form of spoken language that contains nothing that would jar on the ear of an educated speaker of Southern English. — WALTER RIPMAN, *Good Speech*, pp. 9–10. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1922.)

21. Should Canada, Australia, England, and the United States have a common standard? (Quoted from Mills and Barrows, *Voice and Articulation*, p. 69. State University of Iowa, 1926.)

22. Decide what is standard pronunciation (refer to Webster's Dictionary) for each of the following words: apparatus, aviator, mobilize, mobilization, chasten, gratis, implacable, pathos, mandamus, status, amicable, bade, lamentable, and, grand, hand, barrel, catch, drama, haunt, was, half, laugh, because, daughter, water, soda, extra, butcher, zebra, amenable, inherent, serious, weary, experience, clique, creek, precedent, discretion, leg, egg, get, many, yet, sincerity, sacrifice, inquiry, biography, sanguine, docile, divan, diploma, Italian, been, rinse, pretty, assimilate, Latin, similar, revolt, vaudeville, dolorous, produce, domicile, on, orator, authority, foreign, majority, culinary, duke, institute, student, assume, tumult, injurious, ducat, speculate, inaugurate, allow, believe, before, degree, effect, efficient, ensue, elegant, tenant, confidence, prudence, judgment, government, president, vowel, certain, pupil, virile, civilization, Ohio, potato, widow, tobacco, actor, legislator, evil, devil, hundred, children, iron, have, partner, for, asked, candidate, February, last, when, why, yeast, anywhere, idea, Asia, often, almond, Christmas, poignant, raspberry, salmon, subtle, gibbet, give, belligerent, desultory, Elysian, exact, exile, archangel, architect, with, thither, cupboard, draught, admirable, alias, comparable, despicable, address, entire, defect, robust, pretense, applicable, cocaine, combatant, contumely, conversant, cornet, deficit, disputant, explicable, exquisite, inchoate, interested, mayoralty, obsequies, rapine, traverse,

ally, romance, acclimate, adult, caloric, chauffeur, idea, inquiry, opponent, recall, recess, recluse, research, resource, vagary, access, advertisement, confiscate, alien, conduit, courtier, evening, aged, learned, beloved, finance, onerous, extraordinary, era, blatant.

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APPENDIXES

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B. PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

1. The Federal government should provide employment for surplus labor.

2. The shop-committee system should be required by law in the larger American industries.

3. Congress should provide for uniform Federal marriage and divorce laws.

4. Intercollegiate athletics should be discontinued in American colleges.

5. The United States should form an offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain.

6. The policy of coeducation in American colleges is undesirable.

7. Labor unions should be incorporated.

8. The interests of the American workingmen are better subserved by the policy of the closed shop than by the policy of the open shop.

9. Admission to American colleges should be by examination only.

10. The low-tariff policy is more desirable for the United States than is the high-tariff policy.

11. The Philippines should be given complete political autonomy.

12. America should immediately call a world economic conference.

13. Disputes between capital and labor should be automatically subject to compulsory arbitration.

14. The coal mines of the United States should be subject to the control of an interstate commerce commission.

15. A Secretary of Education should be added to the president's cabinet.

16. College tuition should be paid by the state of which the student is a resident.

17. Admission to college should be gained only by passing an intelligence test.

18. American intercollegiate debates should be decided by a vote on the merits of the question only.

19. Congress should adopt legislation affecting the superpower development within the United States.

20. Those who vote should have their poll taxes remitted by the government.

21. Our school (or college) should hire an additional football coach.

22. Our school should discontinue the hiring of athletic coaches.

23. Every college should be self-supporting.

24. The United States should annex Canada.

25. A municipal motion-picture house should be established at ——.

26. Our school board should limit the summer vacation to one month.

27. Jazz music is destroying our appreciation of good music.

28. Charity has been overemphasized in the United States.

29. The rules of the Senate should be revised as suggested by Vice President Dawes.

30. The present policy to extend governmental restriction of individual liberty should be condemned.

31. War, except in case of invasion or internal rebellion, should be declared by direct vote of the people.

32. The air service of the United States should be a separate department of our national defense.

33. Education is the curse of the age.

34. Criminal-syndicalism laws of the various states should be repealed.

35. Congress should enact a law embodying the essential features of the Huber Unemployment Bill.

36. The power of the United States Supreme Court should be limited.

37. Conservative and Liberal parties should supersede the present Republican and Democratic parties.

38. The junior-college movement should be condemned.

39. Every college student should spend one summer vacation in Europe.

40. Every student should read Sinclair Lewis's novels.

41. Dancing should be condemned.

42. Every student of this school should be required to swim as a prerequisite to graduation.

43. The tendency of the Americans to purchase automobiles should be condemned.

44. Regular transatlantic air service should be established.

45. The next war will come within three years.

46. The next president of the United States should be a woman.

47. The government should censor the program of every radio station.

48. The tendency to use the radio for advertising purposes is to be deplored.

49. Each state should guarantee its bank deposits.

50. Every householder should have a radio. (Adapted from Lambertson.)

51. Students who work their way derive more benefit from their school career.

52. Stock speculation is justified.

53. School credit should be given for interschool debating (or for membership in the school band).

54. The Boy Scout movement promotes militarism in the United States.

55. Schools should be held throughout the year.

56. Every state should require automobile driver's license, based upon a thorough examination of the candidate.

C. OUTLINE FOR DETAILED CRITICISM OF A DEBATE

Underscore the items that express your judgment; when possible, furnish examples of faults.

I. Analysis

A. Cause for discussion: not given, relevant, irrelevant, argumentative, overemphasized

B. History: full, overdeveloped, inaccurate, accurate, irrelevant, satisfactory, up-to-date, lacking in recent facts

C. Definitions: absent, too few, inaccurate, vague, unnecessarily involved, technical, clear, sound

D. Admissions: damaging, judicious, trivial, significant

E. Issues: not given, too many, too few, contradictory, overlapping, trivial, irrelevant, superficial, sound, complete, logical in arrangement

F. Partition of the subject: not given, mechanically stated, skillfully stated, overlapping, not exhaustive

G. Organization in general: relevant, irrelevant, impressive, unimpressive, persuasive, nonpersuasive

II. Knowledge of the subject: superficial, thorough (examples, if possible, of misinformation)

III. Evidence and argument

A. In general: ample evidence, sufficient, insufficient, effective, striking

B. Generalizations: too few cases, sufficient in number, fair examples, not fair examples, satisfactory

C. Analogies: not used, true, false, appropriate

D. Causation: wrong causes, insufficient causes, wrong effects, logical and, in general, satisfactory

E. Ignoring the question: *argumentum ad hominem*, *argumentum ad populum*, *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, appeal to the past (give examples if possible)

F. Begging the question: argument in a circle, question-begging words, iteration, use of a premise which requires proof

G. Use of authorities: competent, incompetent, too few, too many, vague, too much quoting from one authority

H. Inconsistencies (give examples)

IV. Skill in rebuttal and refutation

A. The second speech: too short, scattered in ideas, clear, poorly organized, well organized, impressive, dull, fair, brilliant, good, extemporaneous, intelligent, legitimate in strategy, unfair in tactics

B. In general: frequent throughout the discussion, extemporaneous, sound, poor, impressive

C. Special methods of refutation: *reductio ad absurdum*, method of residues, dilemmas, exposing irrelevant arguments

V. Style

A. The debate in general: well organized, clear, coherent, forceful, poorly organized, poorly arranged for coherence and for emphasis, vaguely outlined, evidence of good briefing, evidence of poor briefing, introductory, transitional, summarizing elements

B. Sentences: too long, too short, too few questions, too many questions, confused, clear, coherent, emphatic, loose, periodic, balanced, rhythmical, harsh, monotonous in structure

C. Words: repetition (examples), lack of repetition, clear, technical, emphatic, mechanical, trite, original, spontaneous, varied, dull, figurative, concise, diffuse, concrete, hackneyed, artificial, rhythmical, literary, nonliterary

VI. Presentation

A. Platform courtesy: failure to address chairman or audience, address of chairman and audience well planned

B. Attitude toward opponents: fair, hostile, judicial, unduly sarcastic, patronizing

C. Attitude toward audience: pleasant, patronizing, appealing to sense of justice, appealing to sense of fair play, expressing indignation, expressing selfishness

D. Gestures: too few, too many, natural, stiff

E. Bearing: listless, eager, lacking in purpose, unduly stiff, careless in position of feet and hands, aimless in position of the eyes, unduly nervous

F. Method of delivery and voice: poor breathing, monotony of tone, too fast, too slow, effective, natural in tone, too loud, too soft, forceful, lacking in force, declamatory, memorized, extemporaneous, impromptu

G. Pronunciation and enunciation: excellent, fair, poor, slovenly, overnice (examples of faults)

H. Qualities of the speaker: uprightness, modesty, boldness, tact, lack of tact, dignity, lack of dignity, humor, lack of humor, calmness, irritability, pugnacity, mental power, mental mediocrity

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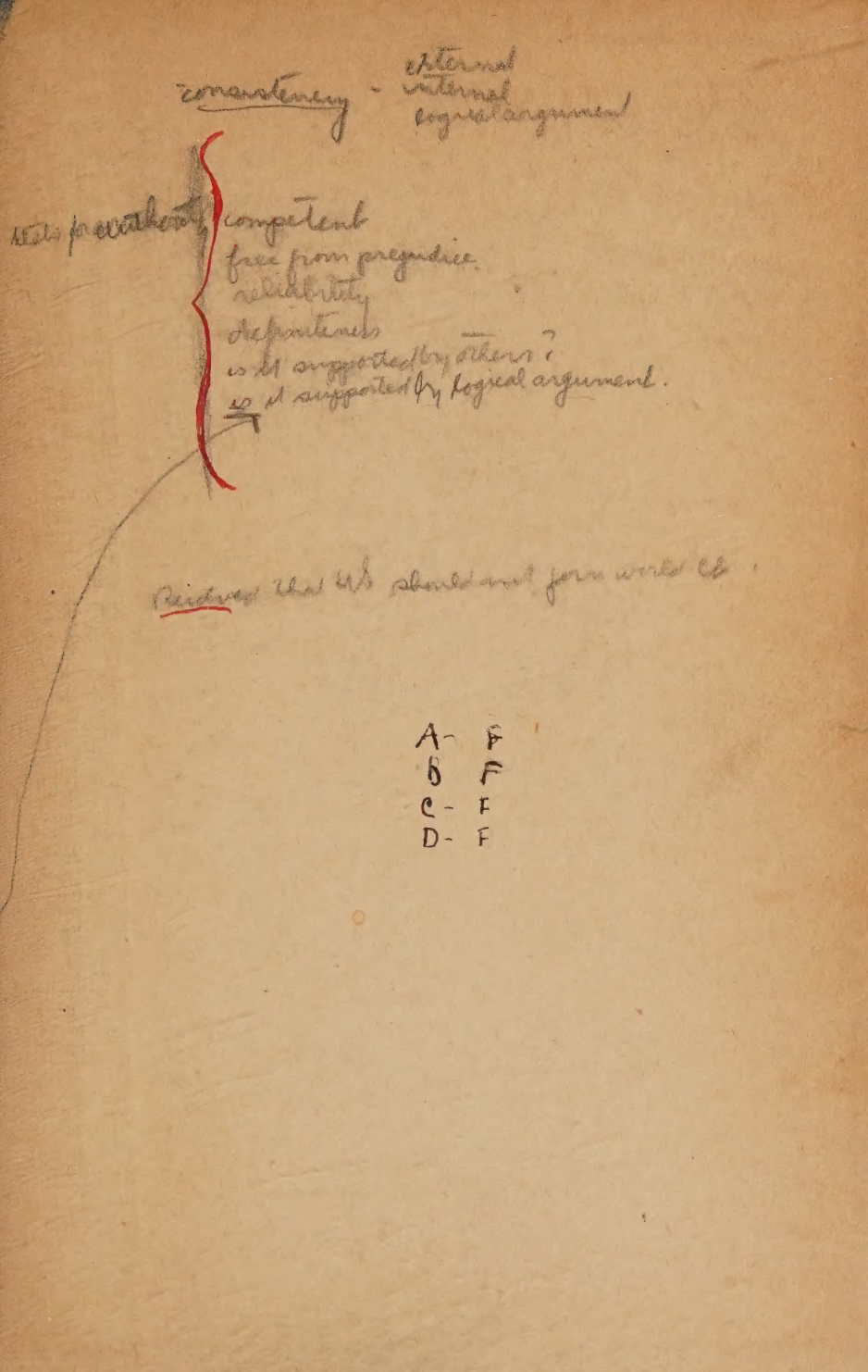
consistency - external
internal
logical argument
tests for authority
competent
free from prejudice
reliability
dependence
is it supported by others?
is it supported by logical argument.
Reader: that it's should not form words

A- F
B F
C- F
D- F